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THE  
**LIFE**  
OF THE  
**REV. OLIVER HEYWOOD,**

WITH

*Historical Sketches*

OF THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED;

AND

**ANECDOTES**

OF SOME OTHER EMINENT MINISTERS IN YORKSHIRE,  
LANCASHIRE, &c.

BY

J. FAWCETT, A. M.

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Thou hast fully known my Doctrine, Manner of Life, Purpose, Faith, Long-suffering, Charity, Patience; what Persecutions I endured; but out of them all the Lord delivered me. PAUL.

Printed and sold at

**EWOOD HALL, NEAR HALIFAX.**

Sold also by T. WILLS, Stationer's Court, Ludgate Street; JOHNSON, St. Paul's Church Yard; W. BUTTON, Paternoster-Row; KNOTT, Lombard Street; MARTIN, No. 27, Great Russel-Street, Bloomsbury, LONDON; and L. Wayland, NEW-YORK.

[1796?] John Adams  
J. Mac V. Jr.  
Gould N. N.Y.



THE LIFE  
OF THE  
Rev. OLIVER HEYWOOD.

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*INTRODUCTION.*

THE person who is the subject of these memoirs was so famous in his day, so much persecuted on the one hand, and so much esteemed and admired on the other, that I have often thought a plain and faithful narrative of his life would be interesting to the public in general, and particularly serviceable to the interests of religion, which, it appears, he had so much at heart. As such, I have, for several years, made it my business to obtain all the information I could concerning him, which, on account of the distance of time since he quitted the stage of existence, has been attended with considerable difficulty.

I venerate the piety of many of those learned and eminently useful ministers, who were excluded from the church by the act of uniformity, without entering minutely into their political system, or undertaking to vindicate their conduct in every particular. I have no reason to think that there was any thing exceptionable in Mr. Heywood's principles or practice; but I know in general, that the human mind, when exasperated by opposition, and soured by ill-treatment, is prone to cherish



dispositions which are not altogether consistent with the meekness and gentleness inculcated by the gospel of peace, and to run to such extremes as cannot be fully justified. It is often found, that contending parties are, in some respects, both in the wrong. This may be accounted for, by considering the common weaknesses of human nature, in its present state.

I am far from having any intention to revive the least degree of that asperity, which formerly subsisted between the members of the established church, and those who dissented from it. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind, respecting modes and forms of religious worship; but let it be remembered, that the disciples who forbade those that followed not with them, knew not what manner of spirit they were of. "Jefus said unto them, Forbid them not." Let not him that eateth, saith the apostle *Paul*, judge him that eateth not; for God hath received him. Nothing is more evident, than that the presence and favour of the Most High, have been granted both to conformists and non-conformists; and the power, life, and spirit of religion have sometimes eminently appeared in the established church, and sometimes as eminently among those who have conscientiously dissented from it. Pious, zealous, and laborious preachers



preachers of the everlasting gospel have been found on both sides the question, and the assiduous exertions of both have been singularly owned, in turning many to righteousness. Nay, I am verily persuaded, with the pious and candid Dr. *Watts*, that there are at present many persons of both communities, who are dear to God, whose names have an honourable place in the book of life, who walk humbly and closely with God in all the duties of the christian state; whose sobriety in what relates to themselves, whose justice and charity in what relates to their neighbours, and whose devotion in what belongs to God, is glorious and exemplary. They are taught and led by the same Spirit of holiness, and interested, equally interested in the favour of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

When I consider these things, my soul is grieved to think, that any thing like a spirit of intolerance and persecution should be cherished in the minds of good men, who differ in their opinions concerning matters of smaller moment, when viewed in comparison with those fundamental points in which they are all agreed. Difference of opinion is unavoidable in this state of imperfection; in which the wisest and the best do but see things, as through a glass, darkly. Let every man act upon principle, according to the light he has received.



and steadily adhere to what he believes, in his own conscience, to be right; but, O thou zealous churchman, O thou zealous dissenter, why dost thou judge thy brother? Or why dost thou set at nought thy brother?

— *Tantæ animis cœlestibus iræ!*

In heav'ly minds should such resentments dwell!

The right which every man has to judge for himself, and to act agreeably to his judgment, in all those things which relate to God and conscience, was one main principle on which the reformation was founded. This right, however, was not so generally allowed by men in power in the last century, as it is at present. Experience seems to have taught many, that severity is not the proper method of enlightening the minds of men. The number of those who have thought it expedient to force others to their own pitch, size and standard, in matters of religious sentiment and practice, is considerably diminished; and the doctrine of persecution is now considered by many, not only as inhuman, but as odious and ridiculous.

Had our zealous forefathers enjoyed the liberties which are granted to us, they would certainly have prized them at a high rate. Attended as they were with difficulties, they took great pains in promoting the welfare of immortal souls; they were

were

were earnest and fervent in the service of their divine Master; they were watchful against jealousies and animosities among themselves; they were careful to be unanimous, and to strengthen one another's hands in the promotion of truth, love and holiness; and their unwearied diligence and activity may justly excite astonishment. Their private fasts, in times of discouragement, observed almost every week, and their frequent and long services on other occasions, would not now be endured, by persons who want their spirit of fervent piety. But though it may be owned, that, in some things they carried matters too far, particularly in their devotional exercises, yet before we take liberty to ridicule or censure them, for preaching, praying, and fasting too much, let us seriously consider, whether our neglect of religious duties, or flight and hasty performance of them, be not far more inexcusable.

Mr. Heywood was a burning and shining light in the sphere in which he moved. He was eminent for his strict and conscientious adherence to the divine word, as the rule of faith, of christian worship, and of obedience in general. I hope nothing is suggested in the following narrative of his life and sufferings, which may justly give offence to any. The design of it is not to credit or advance



a party, but to serve the interests of religion at large. The materials have been collected, in a great measure, from his own papers, as well as from co-temporary writers, and authentic memorials kept by different persons. Some sketches of the history of the times in which he lived seemed to be necessary, for the illustration of some parts of his life, and for the information of such readers as have not leisure to consult larger works. To the inhabitants of the parish of *Halifax* in general, and of *Coley* and *Northowram* in particular, I hope these memoirs will not be unacceptable. In these parts he laboured for the welfare of immortal souls, in public and private, as he had liberty and opportunity, for more than half a century. There are many respectable families now living, in this populous neighbourhood, whose ancestors esteemed him very highly for his work's sake. May these endeavours to revive his memory be attended with a blessing, both to them, and to all others into whose hands they may fall.

## CHAP. I.

*His Education, Call to the Ministry, Settlement, and Success.*

OLIVER HEYWOOD was the son of *Richard Heywood*, of *Little Lever*, in the parish of *Bolton, Lancashire*. He was born in *March, 1629*. His parents, of whom no particular account can now be given, devoted him to God from his infancy, with a desire, if his life should be spared, that he might be employed in the service of the sanctuary. His own inclination, as he grew up, coincided with the wishes of his relations. He was accordingly trained up in grammar-learning, under the best school-masters in those parts, and in the eighteenth year of his age, he went to *Cambridge*, and was put under the tuition of Mr. *Ashurst*, of *Trinity College*, who was then in high repute for learning and piety, though he afterwards fell into several strange opinions, from the infection of which, however, it pleased God to preserve his pupil.

At what period Mr. *Heywood* was brought under serious impressions of mind, cannot be exactly determined, but, in all probability, it was before he

went

went to the university.\* There were some pious young men of his college, who frequently met together for religious exercises. Mr. Heywood soon joined them, and found their society very beneficial to him. He attended the ministrations of Mr. *Hammond*, and of Dr. *T. Hill*, who were then the most celebrated preachers in the university; and in

\* Too much stress is sometimes laid on a person's knowing the exact time of his conversion to God. With those who are enabled to devote themselves to the ways of religion in their early years, this is sometimes impossible. The good seed sown in their hearts, grows up they know not how. The work of grace is better discerned in its effects, than in its commencement and causes. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit." When the pharisees were critically examining the man who had been born blind, in what manner he had recovered his sight, he gave them this short but sensible answer, "This one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."

It is worthy of being remarked by all young people, that those whom God intends to advance to peculiar honour and usefulness in his church, are generally taught to know and fear him in their early days. Let this consideration be improved, young reader, as an inducement to remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth.



the after part of his life, he often spoke of them with much respect, and expressed his gratitude to God for the benefit he received from their labours.

He pursued his studies with very great diligence, and made speedy progress in literature, and in his acquaintance with the truths of the gospel. When he had taken his Bachelor's degree, he was under the necessity of quitting the university, as his father could not well support him there any longer. He lived for a while in retirement at his father's house, where, by the diligent study of the scriptures, fervent prayer to God, and occasional converse with pious persons, he grew in grace and the knowledge of Christ, so as to become a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God. His studies were now directed to what had a more immediate tendency to fit and furnish him for the great work which he had so much at heart, that of preaching the everlasting gospel, and of doing it in such a manner as might, through divine agency, be best calculated to win souls to Christ, and to turn many to righteousness.

Bishop Wilkins, in his *Ecclesiastes*, justly observes, 'That besides the study of languages, sciences and divinity, with which men should be qualified and predisposed for this calling, there is a particular art of preaching, to which, if ministers did

did more seriously apply themselves, it would greatly facilitate that service, making it more easy to them, and more profitable to their hearers. It hath been the usual course at the university, to venture upon this calling in an abrupt and over-hasty manner. When scholars have passed over their philosophical studies, and made some little entrance upon divinity, they presently think themselves fit for the pulpit, without any farther inquiry; as if the gift of preaching and sacred oratory were not a distinct art of itself. This would be counted a very preposterous course in other matters; as if, for instance, a man should presume on being an orator, because he has studied logic; or undertake to practise physic, merely because he has acquired some knowledge of philosophy.'

After some time spent in the manner above hinted at, Mr. Heywood, at the earnest solicitation of some neighbouring ministers, began to preach occasionally in his own neighbourhood, about the year 1650. The reader will recollect that this was at the time when Cromwell was rising in power and influence; for in 1653, he was made Protector. Episcopal ordination was not then the mode of admission into the church.

On Mr. Heywood's having an invitation to Caley chapel, in the parish of Halifax, and accept-

ing that invitation, he was solemnly ordained by the ministers of the second *Classis* in Lancashire, by fasting, prayer, and the imposition of hands. Before his ordination he was strictly examined in the several parts of learning; he disputed upon the question, *An paedobaptismus sit licitus?*\* and preached a sermon before his examiners, from Rom. x. 15. *And how shall they preach except they be sent?* The place of his ordination was the church at Bury, and the ministers employed were, Mr. John Tilsley, Mr. William Harpur, Mr. William Ault, Mr. Peter Bradshaw, Mr. Jonathan Scolfield, Mr. Tobias Fournesse, Mr. Pyke, Mr. Henry Pendlebury, Mr. Richard Goodwin, and Mr. Robert Booth.

The testimonial given to Mr. Heywood by these ministers is not preserved; but, to gratify the reader with a specimen, I have transcribed one given to another person, on a like occasion:

‘Forasmuch as the Lord Jesus Christ, the great Apostle of our profession, has judged it meet that there should be a succession of pastors and teachers in his church, even unto the end of the world, for the edifying of his body, until it come to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of his fulness; and hath deputed the care of this ministerial office unto such as have been already called

\* Whether infant-baptism be lawful.

thereunto, requiring them to commit the things they have received unto faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also: we, the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over his flock in the city of *York*, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in this its necessity, having received credible testimony under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly conversation of *Matthew Hill*, A. M. \* and preacher of the gospel at *Helaugh*, as also concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make further trial of his fitness for so great a work; and being satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have, upon the 23d day of *June*, 1652, proceeded solemnly to set him, the said *Matthew Hill*, apart unto the office of a presbyter, and the work of the ministry, by laying on our hands, with fasting and prayer; by virtue whereof we do esteem  
and

\* Mr. *Hill* was born in the ancient city of *York*, and, at a grammar school there, made great proficiency in learning. He was afterwards put under the tuition of Mr. *Samuel Hammond*, of *Magdalen College, Cambridge*, where his progress in literature and piety answered the wishes and expectations of his friends. Returning home, he studied the scriptures with great assiduity, and particularly improved himself much in the knowledge of the *Hebrew tongue*, under the direction of Mr. *Sherwood*, of *Poppleton*. He was first em-

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and declare him a lawful minister of Jesus Christ, and hereby recommend him to the churches of God, and more especially to the people at *Helaugh* before-mentioned, that they would receive him as a minister of the gospel, loving, honouring, and obeying him in the Lord.

' In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, this 24th day of June, 1652, Nathaniel Jackson, Edward Bowles, Thomas Calvert.'

## B 2

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employed in the work of the ministry at *Helaugh*, the place above-mentioned, a small town about six miles from *York*. He had here much trouble from persons of a wild and enthusiastic turn of mind, so that, after some time, he removed to *Thirsk*, where he continued till the fatal day, in 1662, when he, and about two thousand more, were debarred from the public exercise of their ministry. He was now wholly destitute of subsistence; and his father, who had, with great difficulty, supported him at school, and at the university, was not able to afford him much assistance. He preached for a while privately in *York*, but with great hazard and danger.

The idea of being burdensome to his relations hurt his feelings so much, that, resolving to cast himself wholly upon Providence, he went up to *London*, in search of some employment. Through the assistance of friends, he obtained a chaplainship at *Gatten*, in *Surry*, with a salary of twenty pounds a year. Sometime after, removing thence, he lost his little all by fire in *London*; probably it was that dreadful conflagration in 1666, which laid so great a part of the city in ashes. Mr. Hill, writing to his friends in the country on this mournful occasion, subscribed

his

In the year 1651, Mr. Heywood removed to Coley; and as he was married about the same time, it may be supposed he became a house-holder. It is said, his income at this place, when at the largest, did not amount to above thirty-six pounds a year; yet, with prudence and good economy, it proved, while he could have it, sufficient to answer his necessities. It pleased God to make him

the

his letter thus, — ‘Your brother, *sine re, sine spe, tantum non sine se, Matthew Hill*;’ i. e. without property, without hope of obtaining any, and only not deprived of the possession of himself.

He had several relations, who, from time to time, pressed him to conform, but his necessities, however urgent, could not induce him to a compliance with that of which his conscience did not entirely approve.

At length, though his constitution was, like that of many other studious persons, tender and delicate, he determined upon a voyage to the *West Indies*. He embarked with a light cargo, having little more than a bible, a concordance, a few clothes, and a small parcel of manuscripts. He fixed in *Charles' county, Maryland*, in 1669, where a brighter scene began to open before him; he had the prospect of considerable usefulness in the ministry, and of a comfortable support as to outward things. But new and unexpected troubles still fell to his lot, so that it might as truly be said of him as of any in modern times, that it was through much tribulation he entered the kingdom of God. His life of trouble ended in a death full of tranquillity and hope; his bones were laid in a strange land, far from the place of his fathers' sepulchres; but his soul ascended to the regions of everlasting rest.

the happy instrument of turning many to righteousness, and this he valued more than all the wealth this world could afford. He ardently longed for the conversion of sinners; to this end his labours had a particular tendency; nor did he labour in vain; for his preaching was rendered remarkably useful.—The work that God wrought in the neighbourhood of *Huddersfield*, thirty years ago, by the instrumentality of Mr. *Venn*, will never be forgotten to the days of eternity. Something like this, so far as I can gather, took place about *Coley*, in the first years of Mr. *Heywood's* ministrations there.

But where there are great exertions to pull down Satan's kingdom, great opposition may be expected. It was so at *Coley*. Some were much displeased with Mr. *Heywood*, because he would not permit all kinds of persons to come to the Lord's table, but refused to administer that holy ordinance to such as were trifling, loose and scandalous in their lives. The persons whom he did not think it proper to admit, because of their immoral conduct, looked upon themselves as much injured, and gave Mr. *Heywood* a great deal of trouble. Some were angry with him, because he would not enter into their political views, and imbibe their party prejudices. While others disliked him for his faithful



dealing with them, both in his public preaching, and his private admonitions.

At the instigation of some of his enemies, he was seized by a party of Col. *Lilburn's* soldiers, under pretence of his being ill-affected to *Cromwell's* administration; but through the interposition of friends, he was dismissed. In 1659, he was molested various ways by those lawless levellers, who opposed all order in church and state, and attempted to pull down the ministry, as they had done the magistracy; but he pursued his work with unwearied diligence, set his face like a flint against all opposers, and still kept his station amidst the turbulence of those unhappy times.

Sir *Richard Houghton*, of *Houghton Tower*, hearing an excellent character of him, and being informed of the difficulties with which he had to struggle, in the discharge of his ministry, sent him a presentation to the vicarage of *Preston*, worth, at that time, one hundred pounds per annum. But he had been successful in the conversion of many souls to God, and his heart was so attached to them, that he would not leave them on any account, choosing rather to suffer affliction with them, than to accept of preferment, ease and affluence, in that or any other situation.

## CHAP. II.

*His Ejection, and Ten Years' Silence.*

IN the year 1660, king *Charles the Second* being restored, spies were sent into all the congregations of the non-conformists throughout *England*, to observe and report their behaviour; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy of the king and government. Many eminent and loyal men among them were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom were the learned and prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and others. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, for not wearing the surplice, and omitting some of the usual ceremonies.

In *March 1662*, the nonconformists were reduced to great distress; for the grand jury at *Exeter* found bills of indictment against more than forty eminent ministers, for not reading common-prayer. They likewise presented the travelling about of itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They also presented such persons as neglected their own parish-churches, to attend religious meetings at other

other places. These proceedings were the certain indications of approaching general persecution.

In these calamitous times, days of fasting, humiliation and prayer were frequently observed by the ministers, and as many of their friends as could conveniently attend. Of the manner in which the ministers conducted the service on these occasions, the reader may form some idea, from the account which one of them, the above-mentioned Mr. Howe, gave to an intimate friend, some years after this period. He said it was his common way, to begin at nine in the morning, with prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing on the work of the day. He then read and expounded a chapter, or a psalm, prayed one hour, preached another, and concluded with prayer, in which he spent about half an hour more. After this he retired for fifteen minutes, to take some slight refreshment, the people singing or praying while he was absent. The latter part of the service, on his return to the place again, was conducted much in the same manner as the former. He spent near two hours and a half in prayer and preaching, and dismissed the people about four in the afternoon. How a minister could go through all this, without inexpressible weariness to himself, and to his auditory, may, to us

us, seem mysterious. But pressing calamities furnish matter for prayer, and the fire of persecution enkindles the ardour of devotion, both in ministers and private christians.

It is pretty evident, that though Mr. Heywood studiously avoided, as much as possible, having any concern in the political disputes which were agitated in his day, he, in the main, favoured the royal cause; since, for his attachment to it, he once suffered imprisonment; and at another time met with much opposition, because he did not choose to give thanks publicly for the success of the parliament's forces. There is reason to believe, that he looked upon the restoration of *Charles the Second*, as a national mercy; yet in that he rejoiced with trembling. For he was sensible, that though, in the years between 1640 and 1660, there were, on civil accounts, great disorders, and the very foundations were shaken, yet in regard to the worship of God, in many respects, things went well. There was a considerable reformation of manners; freedom and liberty of conscience were enjoyed; an external profession of religion was pretty general through the nation; and the ordinances of God were administered in their purity and power. But the restoration, he saw, was attended with very unhappy effects, with respect to the morals of the

peo-



people,\* and his soul wept in secret on seeing and hearing of the silencing of so many faithful ministers, the ways of Zion mourning, serious godliness being made the matter of ridicule, and the quiet in the land being treated as the troublers of it.

The terms of conformity required by the act, commonly called the act of uniformity, were—  
Re-ordination, if the ministers had not been episcopally ordained before ; and — a declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, the administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of *England*, and the form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.

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\* *Rapin says*, ‘The king gave himself up to his pleasures without any reserve. His principal favourites were, the Duke of Buckingham, who had no religion, and gloried in his debaucheries; and *Wilmot*, earl of Rochester, the greatest wit, and the most satirical, licentious poet of his age. To these two men and his mistresses the king gave up almost his whole time, and it was with difficulty that his ministers could find any opportunity of speaking to him concerning his affairs. Pleasures and debauches were the whole entertainment of the court, and vice appeared bare-faced and open. *England* had never beheld a more disorderly court; and unhappily the bad example set by it had but too much influence upon the subjects in general. The duke of York was not only a catholic, but exceedingly zealous for that cause; and none but papists, or men of no religion, had any credit at court.’

The nonconformist ministers had but three months time to consider what to do with themselves and their families. Great numbers scrupled the business of re-ordination, but the chief obstacle was, ‘giving their assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the book of common-prayer.’ Some quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, others preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before that day, as Drs. *Manton, Bates, Jacomb, Calamy*, and many more. And such zeal and affection for the welfare of the people ran through their discourses, as dissolved their audiences into tears.

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* took leave of his congregation at St. *Martin's, Ludgate*, Aug. 17, 1662, in a discourse on *John viii. 29*. “He that sent me is with me; the Father hath not left me alone; for I do always those things that please him.” Towards the close of his sermon, he addressed his flock in the following manner:

‘Be not ashamed to own Christ before all the world. If you be ashamed of him on earth, he will be ashamed of you when he appeareth from heaven; and woe be to that man whom Christ will be ashamed to own. Reckon reproaches for the name of Christ better than the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season.

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'When God calls you to it, assert the purity and spirituality of gospel-worship. Do not place religion in a few shadows, where the substance is wanting; but chiefly mind self-denial, crucifixion to the world, and keeping up close communion with God. Love the people of God, whatever the world say of them; for the Father is pleased by the regard which we have to his children.'

'Keep up religion in your families, whatever scorn or contempt may be cast upon you for so doing. Labour to be of *Abraham's* spirit, of whom the Almighty bears this testimony, *I know him, that he will teach his children, and his household after him, the way of the Lord, and command them to keep it.* I know no better means for keeping up religion in this nation, than for masters of families to be conscientious in the discharge of this duty.'

'Labour to be good in bad times. Be patterns of good works among those who may have their eyes upon you. Let not persecution cause you to abate any thing of your conscientious endeavours to please God. Whatever reproach is cast upon you for walking in the ways of holiness, say, 'If this is to be vile, I will be yet viler.' Make conscience of a strict observance of the Lord's day. Beware of prostituting any part of it to your business or your pleasures.'

'Love



‘ Love those who have been instrumental in promoting your spiritual welfare, in the work of the ministry, and pray for them. Remember those who have had the rule over you, though you may be hereafter deprived of the benefit of their labours, and though their names may be cast out as evil.

‘ Let all those who suffer for a conscientious endeavour to please God, be comforted; the Father will not leave them alone in their sufferings. If you please God, you may yet suffer from men. This was the case with Jesus Christ himself. But though an endeavour to please him does not exempt from sufferings, it takes away the sting of them. The presence of God is a precious privilege at any time, but especially under sufferings; it turns the gall into honey, the thorns into roses. Be not troubled about what is coming upon you; if the Father be with you, all will be well. What is a prison when he is there? Be not dejected; *fear not, O Jacob; why? When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee.* It is not a prison, but a palace, if God be there. The father will not leave you alone. Ministers may leave you, means and ordinances, in a great measure, may leave you; but you know who has said, *I will never leave you, nor forsake you.*’



The excellent and justly celebrated Dr. *Bates* took his leave of the congregation at St. *Dunstan's* in the West, in these words :

‘ You expect I should say something as to my nonconformity ; I shall only observe, that it is neither fancy, faction, nor humour, which makes me not comply ; but a fear of offending God. And if, after the best means used for my information, as prayer, study, and christian conference, I am not able to satisfy myself concerning the lawfulness of what is required, if it be my unhappiness to be in an error, surely men will have no reason to be angry with me in this world, and, I hope, God will pardon me in the next.’

Mr. *Thomas Lye* thus addressed his congregation at *Alhallows*, in *Lombard-street*:

‘ How sad is it for the father to be driven from his family, the shepherd from his flock, the nurse from her child ! This is a lamentation, and ought to be for a lamentation. Must *David* and *Jonathan* be parted, who loved one another as they loved their own souls ? In respect to myself, I bless God I can say, *A loving congregation have you been to me.* Blessed be God for such a people. Do not blame me, if my heart is almost broken, when I am constrained to leave you. I would do any thing to keep up my relation to you, that I could do, with-



without violating my own conscience. You know the apostle says, *He that doubteth is condemned, if he eat.* If I could have subscribed with a good conscience, I would have done it; but as I cannot, let the God of heaven and earth do with me as seems good in his sight. I am very sensible what it is to be reduced to a morsel of bread; but I cast myself on the care of Providence.

‘ My heart is so full, I cannot speak to you as I would. You are as dear to me as the children of my own bowels. I bless God, I have never had any concern in any change of government. I am for prayers, tears, quietness, meekness and submission. My own dear people, hear me now, though you should never hear me more, be exhorted to stand fast in the Lord, my dearly beloved.’

Mr. John Angier of Denton, on this occasion, preached from these words, *Esther iv. 1.* “ When Mordecai perceived all that was done, Mordecai rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes, and went out into the midst of the city, and cried with a loud and a bitter cry.”

About two thousand ministers quitted their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity. ‘ Many of these,’ says Bp. Burnet, ‘ were much valued and distinguished for their abilities and zeal. They



were now reduced to great poverty, and, in a manner, forced to form separate congregations.' Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. They were treated with the utmost severity, being reduced to the necessity of begging, or starving, or of getting their bread as they could. They were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends, and, what was still more killing to them, from their usefulness, though they had merited much of the king, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration. 'No mercy was shewn,' says a divine of the established church, 'to these unhappy sufferers, though it was impossible, on a sudden, to fill up the gap which was made by their removal.'—Such were the effects of the act of uniformity.

Many hundreds of the ejected ministers, with their wives and children, had neither houses nor bread. The people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they do it, if they had been able. Some of these ministers preached in fields and private houses, to such as would hear them, till they were apprehended, and cast into jails, where many of them died. Some lived on brown bread and water. Many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family.

*Britons*

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*Britons* boast of their laws, and, in general, with great reason; but some of them blush for their country when they review that law, entitled, ‘An act of uniformity.’ Let religion be considered in what light you please; let it be viewed in its different branches, of knowledge, faith, worship, experience, or practice; uniformity is not to be expected. A law which requires uniformity, requires men to be of the same sentiments, and to observe the same ceremonies. If it should appear that the first is impossible, the last will fall of itself. For the question is,—Ought two men, who confessedly differ in sentiment, to pretend that they agree? Ought a christian to *be* one thing, and *appear to be* another? Is it possible for any man to believe that of which he cannot perceive the evidence? We are formed with organs, powers and capacities infinitely various. We are educated under different prejudices, and habituated to a variety of modes of thinking. Variety is the characteristic of all the Creator’s works, both material and intellectual. An attempt, therefore, to establish an exact uniformity of thought, or of practice, is never likely to be successful. It can never be maintained, except on the popish plan, of forbidding the use of the scriptures, and denying the right of private judgment.



When *Constantine* was advanced to the imperial throne, he found the professors of christianity divided amongst themselves; and, as he declared himself a friend to the christian cause, he was ashamed of those quarrels by which the advocates for it disgraced their profession. Proposing therefore to establish universal peace, he at first granted liberty of conscience; and, had he stopped there, the remedy would have operated slowly, but surely. It was a just saying of another emperor, *Maximilian* the Second, ‘ Such princes as tyrannize over the consciences of men, attack the throne of the Supreme Being, and frequently lose the earth by interfering too much with heaven.’

But *Constantine*, in the second year of his reign, called a council of about three hundred bishops, to draw up a creed, as a standard of faith, to constitute canons for discipline, to require subscription, to punish with excommunication, and, in a word, to establish uniformity in religion by law. This ill-judged procedure inflamed the established party with zeal, and the ejected and excommunicated with revenge. It agitated the passions of mankind, and promoted that strife which has prevailed more or less in every succeeding period. The calling of councils, the framing of canons, and the shedding of human blood under the sanction

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of religion, and to promote uniformity of belief and of practice, were objects which engaged the attention of many of *Constantine's* successors.

When the civil magistrate forbids his subjects to believe or to practice any thing contrary to the national standard, established by law, he assumes an authority over their souls, their consciences and thinking powers, which seems only to belong to the Author of our existence. To shew the impropriety of this, let us suppose, a gentleman, who resides for a while in *England*, acknowledges the power in question, and professes, with a solemn oath, his faith in the 39 articles. He passes over into *Spain* or *Portugal*, and another magistrate requires another faith. Should he pursue his rout, and retain his notion of the power of the magistrate over his conscience, he must believe as the *Czar* believes at *Petersburg*, and as the *Grand Signior* believes in *Turkey*. If he goes round the world, he must be of all religions, or rather, of none at all. Conscience towards God is utterly annihilated.

Mr. Heywood was prosecuted in the consistory court at *York*, for not reading the common-prayer, a whole year before the act of uniformity commenced; and, after some time, he was, by the archbishop's chancellor, suspended from his office. The suspension was published at *Halifax*, June 29,

1662.

1662. Upon this he forbore preaching at *Coley* for a while, but did not attempt to get his suspension reversed, because he knew the act of uniformity would silence him in the month of *August* following. He ventured, however, to take leave of his dear flock, by preaching two or three Lord's days among them, before the fatal *Bartholomew-tide*.

On *November* the second, the same year, an excommunication was published against him in *Halifax* church. Upon this he went to *York*, to see if any redress could be obtained ; but he soon learnt from the chancellor, that there was not the least ground to hope for favour, unless he would take an oath, *De parendo juri, et stando mandatis ecclesiae*, and entirely conform to the established modes of worship, which, according to his views of the subject, he could not do with a pure conscience.

Sometime after this, he went to *Coley* chapel, as a hearer ; but the church-warden came to him, and charged him to leave the place, because he was an excommunicated person. He made bold however to keep his station, till the service was over.

To be forbidden to attend as a common hearer, in a place where he had laboured, as a minister, with so much assiduity and success, was extremely trying.

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The following memorandum was written by Mr. Heywood, about ten years after he was fixed at Coley :

' I made an attempt to establish discipline among the people of my charge; and, by the good hand of God, did attain it so far as to set up the sealing ordinance, with some degree of regularity, while I was public preacher in Coley chapel; and we enjoyed that sweet ordinance from 1655 to 1660.' A list of the names of communicants is then given, in number seventy-three.

The good man was now silenced, as he himself observes, and continued to be so for ten years, so that he could do nothing in his Master's work but by stealth, and with the greatest hazard and danger,\* but he was of the same spirit with that eminently pious and holy man, Mr. Philip Henry, who used to say, ' When we cannot do what we would,

if

\* As the following anecdotes bear some similarity to the case of Mr. Heywood, I hope the reader will excuse the insertion of them here.

Mr. Nathaniel Bradshaw, B. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, left many good people, and a very good living at Willingham, in Cambridgeshire, when expelled, Aug. 24, 1662. His preaching had been well adapted to the people of that town, whom he found very profane and ignorant; but, in a little time, God was pleased to give him many seals of his ministry among them.

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if we do what we can, God will accept our poor service; when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade. There is a mean, if we could keep in it, between fool-hardiness, and faint-heartedness.' To walk in this middle path was Mr. Heywood's constant endeavour.

In 1664 came out a writ for apprehending him as an excommunicated person; but he was not taken. He acted with prudence and caution, in order to avoid a long imprisonment, keeping himself private; and it pleased God to protect him from the search of his pursuers. He had probably

He was succeeded by a profane minister, who, meeting him after his ejection, scoffed at him for his way of preaching. Mr. Bradshaw only said to him in reply, 'Sir, I left fourscore and ten praying families in Willingham, at my ejection, and I am afraid your ministry will never make them up an hundred.'

The ejection so often referred to, greatly affected the minds of many pious ministers, whose hearts were set on the work to which they were called. When Mr. John Machin, of Whitley, was at the point of death, some of his old hearers went to see him, to whom he said, 'Ah, my friends, I never lived since I died.' They understood that his being silenced had greatly affected his spirits, and, in fact, had broken his heart, and shortened his days. He died when he was not more than forty years of age. It is probable, that, in the above expressions, he alluded to that clause in the act of uniformity, which disposed of the places and benefices of ministers not conforming, as if they were naturally dead.

now several children, and being deprived of his income, must have been in great straits. *Martha Bairstow*, a maid servant, who had lived in his family several years, would not desert her master and mistress in their distress. The following anecdote is well authenticated; and though I am not absolutely certain at what period the circumstance happened, I will beg leave to introduce it here.

The little stock of money was quite exhausted, the family provisions were entirely consumed, and *Martha* could lend no more assistance from the little savings of former days. Mr. *Heywood* still trusted, that God would provide, when he had nothing but the divine promise to live upon. He said,

‘ When cruise and barrel both are dry,  
We still will trust in God Most High.’

When the children began to be impatient for want of food, Mr. *Heywood* called his servant, and said to her, ‘ *Martha*, take a basket, and go to *Halifax*; call upon Mr. *N*—, the shopkeeper, in *Northgate*, and tell him I desire him to lend me five shillings; if he will be kind enough to do it, buy us some cheese, some bread, and such other little things as you know we most want; be as expeditious as you can in returning, for the poor chil-

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dren begin to be fretful for want of something to eat. Put on your hat and cloak, and the Lord give you good speed; in the mean time, we will offer up our requests to him who feedeth the young ravens when they cry, and who knows what we have need of before we ask him.'

*Martha* observed her master's directions; but when she came near the house where she was ordered to beg for the loan of five shillings, through timidity and bashfulness, her heart failed her. She passed by the door again and again, without having courage to go in, and tell her errand. At length Mr. N——, standing at his shop-door, and seeing *Martha* in the street, called her to him, and said, 'Are not you Mr. Heywood's servant?' When she had, with an anxious heart, answered in the affirmative, he added, 'I am glad I have this opportunity of seeing you; some friends at M—— have remitted to me five guineas for your master, and I was just thinking how I could contrive to send it.' *Martha* burst into tears, and, for some time, could not utter a syllable. The necessities of the family, their trust in Providence, the seasonableness of the supply, and a variety of other ideas breaking in upon her mind at once, quite over-powered her. At length she told Mr. N—— upon what errand she came, but that she had not

courage

courage to ask him to lend her poor master money. The tradesman could not but be affected with the story, and told *Martha* to come to him when the like necessity should press upon them, at any future time. She made haste to procure the necessary provisions, and, with a heart lightened of its burden, ran home to tell the success of her journey. Though she had not been long absent, the hungry family had often looked wishfully out at the window for her arrival. When she knocked at her master's door, which now must be kept locked and barred, for fear of constables or bailiffs, it was presently opened, and the joy to see her was as great as when a fleet of ships arrives, laden with provisions, for the relief of a starving town, closely besieged by an enemy. The children danced round the maid, eager to look into the basket of eatables, the patient mother wiped her eyes, the father smiled and said, 'The Lord hath not forgotten to be gracious; his word is true from the beginning; the young lions do lack and suffer hunger, but they that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.' *Martha* related every circumstance of her little expedition, as soon as tears of joy would permit her; and all partook of the homely fare, with a sweeter relish than the fastidious *Roman* nobles ever knew, when thousands of pounds were ex-

pended to furnish one repast. Had you been present while this pious family were eating their bread and cheese, and drinking pure water from the spring, you might perhaps have heard the good man thus addressing the wife of his bosom, ‘Did I not tell you, my dear, that God would surely provide for us? Why were you so fearful, O you of little faith? Our heavenly Father knoweth that we have need of these things. Jesus said to his disciples, When I sent you without purse or scrip, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing, Lord.’

In this state of confinement, Mr. Heywood sometimes ventured to admit a few friends into his house, in whom he could confide, and preached to them, with such fervour and affection as present circumstances tended to inspire. Now and then he supplied vacant churches at a distance, when he could obtain permission of the churchwardens so to do. But the spirit of persecution raged so hotly against him, that this worthy man was under the necessity of taking leave of his dear family, and of going he knew not whither. But the question was, How should he be equipped for his journey? He had a horse, but the little money that remained must be left for the support of the family, for whom Mr. Heywood was much more concerned than for himself.

One winter's morning, while it was yet dark, the horse was saddled, and this good man, after bidding adieu to his affectionate wife, and saluting his children in their beds, set out, like *Abraham*, when he left his father's house, not knowing whither he went. He moved silently along in by-ways for some time, for fear of being seen, till he had got out of the neighbourhood. Having not one farthing in his pocket to bear his travelling expences, he committed himself to the protection of Providence. He determined at length to leave his horse at full liberty to go what way it would; and thus travelled on for a considerable part of the day, till both man and beast stood in great need of refreshment.

Towards evening, the horse bent its course to a farm house, a little out of the road. Mr. Heywood called at the door, and a clean decent woman came out to inquire what he wanted. 'I have reason,' said he, 'to make an apology for giving you this trouble, being an entire stranger in these parts. My horse stands in need, as well as myself, of shelter and refreshment for the night; if you could any way make it convenient to furnish my horse with a little hay, and a stand under cover, and myself with a seat by your fire-side, I ask no more.' The good woman, a little surprized at his request,

told him she would consult her husband. After a few minutes, they both came to the door, and Mr. Heywood repeated his solicitation, but told them that he had no money to satisfy them for any trouble they might have on his account; yet he hoped God would reward them. They immediately desired him to alight; the master led the horse into the stable, and the mistress took the stranger into the house, invited him to sit down, stirred up the fire, and began to prepare him something to eat. Mr. Heywood told her, that he was concerned to see her give herself so much trouble, that, being unable to make her any recompence, he did not request either a supper or a bed, but only that he might sit by the fire-side till morning. The mistress assured him, that for an act of hospitality she did not expect any reward, and that though the accommodations her house would afford, were but indifferent, he should be welcome to them; and therefore she hoped he would make himself easy.

After supper, they all sat down before the fire, and the master of the house desired to know of the stranger, what countryman he was. 'I was born,' said he, 'in Lancashire, but I have a wife and family in the neighbourhood of Halifax.' 'That is a town,' said the farmer, 'where I have been; and some years ago, I had a little acquaintance with

several persons there. Pray do you know Mr. S——, and Mr. D——? and is old Mr. F—— yet alive? The stranger gave suitable answers to these, and many other inquiries. At length the kind hostess asked him, if he knew any thing of one Mr. Oliver Heywood, who was formerly a minister at some chapel, not far from *Halifax*, but was now, on some account or other, forbidden to preach. The stranger replied, ‘ There is a great deal of noise and talk about that man; some speak well; others say every thing that is bad of him; for my own part, I can say little in his favour.’ ‘ I believe,’ said the farmer, ‘ he is of that fact which is every where spoken against; but pray, do you personally know him? And what is it that inclines you to form such an indifferent opinion of his character?’ ‘ I do know something of him,’ said the stranger, ‘ but as I do not choose to propagate an ill report of any one, if you please, we will talk on some other subject.’ After keeping the farmer and his wife in suspense for some time, who were a little uneasy at what he had said; he told them, that he was the poor out-cast, of whom they had made so many kind inquiries.

All was then surprize, and joy, and thankfulness, that a merciful Providence had brought him under their roof. The master of the house said,



• Mr. Heywood, I am glad to see you here, having long had a sincere regard for you, from the favourable report I have always heard of you. The night is not far spent, I have a few neighbours who love the gospel, if you will give us a word of exhortation, I will run and acquaint them. This is an obscure place, and as your coming here is not known, I hope we shall have no interruption.' Mr. Heywood consented; a small congregation was gathered; and he preached to them with that fervour, affection, and enlargement, which attending circumstances served to inspire. On this joyful occasion, a small collection was voluntarily made, to help the poor traveller on his way.

On the restoration of *Charles*, such a madness attended the universal joy, that many unwarrantable proceedings were countenanced by men in power. The lords lieutenants and their deputies kept the several counties of the kingdom in perpetual fear. Many were made offenders for a word, which at other times would have been thought perfectly innocent. The most cautious preachers were accused and censured, if they did not encourage the spirit of intoxication which infected people of all ranks and degrees.

In the places where Mr. Heywood wandered, while he was an exile, he met with many who were

were in the same condition with himself. Within the compass of a few miles, he found so many ministers destitute of employment and the means of subsistence, and exposed to continual hardships, as, with their wives and children, made up above an hundred, who all lived upon Providence.— Though they were often reduced to wants and straits, yet were they not forsaken. The divine word was fulfilled in them; “ Trust in the Lord, and do good, so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily, thou shalt be fed.” As such, they were enabled to rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of their salvation.

His friend, Mr. Lawrence, was turned out of *Baschurch*, who, if he would have consulted with flesh and blood, as was said of one of the martyrs, had eleven good arguments against suffering, viz. a wife and ten children. Being once asked how he meant to maintain them all, he clearly replied, ‘ They must all live on the sixth of *Matthew*, *Take no thought for the morrow*, &c. He bore witness to the love and care of his heavenly Father, in providing for himself and his numerous family, beyond all that they could have expected.

Mr. Philip Henry, Mr. Steel, and some others, were taken up, and imprisoned at *Hanmer*. After some days, they were examined by the deputy lieu-

tenants, charged with they knew not what, required to give security to be forth-coming upon twenty-four hours notice, whenever they should be called for, and so dismissed. Mr. *Henry* returned to his family with thanksgivings to God, and hearty prayers for his enemies, that it would please God to forgive them. With regard to his confinement, he said, 'I counted it no hardship; it is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience. The sting of death is sin, and the same may be said of imprisonment.'—The very next day after his release, one of those at whose instigation he was brought into trouble, died, as was said, of a drunken surfeit.

Mr. *Heywood* was a man of a peaceable spirit, and notwithstanding all that he suffered in these unhappy times, he paid due attention to the divine word, as the rule of his conduct, with respect to civil governors. He knew that magistracy is God's ordinance, and that magistrates are his ministers; that by him kings reign, and the powers that be, are ordained of him. He knew that honour, fear, and tribute are their due; that their lawful commands ought to be readily and cheerfully obeyed; and that the penalties inflicted for not obeying unlawful commands are to be patiently endured. He knew that, if some professing godliness

are disturbers of public tranquillity, their conduct contradicts their profession. He knew that quietness is the badge which christians ought to wear, that it is pleasing to God, and will be their rejoicing in the day of evil. The consideration, that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, but that his subjects must expect to have tribulation here, in conformity to their Leader, served to compose his spirit to a patient continuance in well-doing, whatever sufferings he had to endure.

The divine right of kings, and the doctrine of non-resistance were, at this period, the fashionable topics of discussion, in the pulpits of many of the established clergy. In one instance, the celebrated Dr. Tillotson, then dean of *Canterbury*, the friend of Mr. Heywood, and whose father was a member of the society at *Northowram*, appeared as an advocate in that cause. He preached a sermon at *Whitehall*, before his majesty, *Charles the Second*, in which were these words:

' I cannot think, till I be better informed, (which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that has not an extraordinary commission, as the apostles and first publishers of the gospel had, and cannot justify that

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commission by miracles, as they did, to affront the established religion of a nation, *although it be false*, and openly draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the laws. All that persons of another religion can, in such a case, reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own consciences and religion, for which they ought to be very thankful.' &c. &c.

When the service was concluded, a certain nobleman said to the king, who had been asleep most part of the time, ' It is pity your majesty slept; for we have had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life.' The king replied, in a jocular way, ' He shall print it then.' The doctor was accordingly ordered to print his sermon.— When it was published, he sent a copy of it, as he usually did of his other works, to his learned friend, Mr. John Howe, who was, at that time, in the same predicament with Mr. Heywood, an ejected minister. When Mr. Howe read the above-cited passage, he was exceedingly troubled, and drew up a long letter to the author, on the subject. He signified how he was grieved that the doctor had pleaded the popish cause against all the reformers. He observed, that, as to the apostles, we had in, *conceivable evidence of the truth of the miracles wrought*

wrought by them, and that we are bound to believe them, and take religion to be established by them, without any farther expectations. ‘ But what then,’ said he, ‘ must the christian religion be repealed every time a governor who is an enemy to it thinks fit to establish a new religion ? Must no one stand up for the true religion till he can work a miracle ?’  
&c. &c.

Mr. Howe carried the letter himself, and delivered it into the doctor’s own hand, who, thinking they should be less interrupted in the country, proposed Mr. Howe’s dining with him at *Sutton-court*, the seat of the Lady *Falconbridge*. The invitation was accepted, and Mr. Howe read over the letter to his dignified friend, and enlarged on its contents, as they travelled together in his chariot. The dean was at length convinced of his mistake, and wept like a child, saying to Mr. Howe, ‘ This is the most unhappy thing that has for a long time befallen me. I see that what I have offered is not to be maintained.’—Whoever may be disposed to censure the good archbishop’s friendship and tenderness to the dissenters, bishop *Burnet* justly says, ‘ His conduct, in the instance now recited, needs no apology, for it is above it.’

It will perhaps be recollect ed by those who are attentive to the history of our own nation, that

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many of our forefathers, in compliance with the humours of their sovereigns, turned about from popery to protestantism, from protestantism to popery, and so on, just as a fane is shifted round by the change of the wind, from one point of the compass to another. In the course of a few years, from the days of *Henry VIII*, to the settlement of his daughter *Elizabeth*, the established religion of *England* was changed four times. The reigning prince required his subjects to be conformable to him, in sentiment and practice, and to persecute those, as heretics, who differed from him. In consequence of this, the same people who one year harassed, imprisoned, or burnt their fellow-citizens, for presuming to dissent from the religion of the sovereign, perhaps, the next, not only justified those whom they had before so persecuted, but conformed to their opinions. These known facts may justly excite astonishment. The reader will make his own reflections upon them.

An act was passed in 1664, for suppressing conventicles, in which were the following clauses:—  
‘ If any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at a meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy of the church of *England*, where shall be

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five or more persons than the household, shall, for the first offence, suffer three months' imprisonment, upon record made upon oath, under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence, six months imprisonment, or ten pounds; and for the third offence, the offender to be banished to some of the *American* plantations for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. They who suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns are liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. Married women taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months, unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemption. This act to continue in force for three years, after the next session of parliament.'

In consequence of this act, the jails in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting protestants. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a seizure of their effects. The goods and wares were taken out of the shops, and cattle were driven away, and sold for half their value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and put under close confinement for three or six months. Reli-

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gious assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and, in the most private places; and notwithstanding all their caution, the poor people were frequently disturbed. Yet it is very remarkable, that, under all their hardships, they never were known to make the least resistance, but went quietly along with the officers, when they could not fly from them.

So great was the severity of these times, the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, and the activity of a vile set of men, who acted as spies and informers, in expectation of enriching themselves by obtaining the promised reward, and by plundering the houses of their neighbours, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if more than four of their acquaintances, who came only to visit them, were present. Some were afraid to ask a blessing on their meat when set on the table, if five strangers happened to be there. In *London*, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded, if the people were in different houses, and heard the minister through a hole in the wall. But even this could not be done with safety; as it was in the power of any evil-minded individual to put them to trouble.

Mr. Heywood, in his state of exile from his family and friends, travelled for some time with his venerable father-in-law, Mr. Angier, among their

acquaintances in *Cheshire* and elsewhere. For this worthy aged minister also tasted of the bitter cup of persecution, and was under the necessity of seeking his safety by flight. The father and son, however, met with a kind reception in some places where Providence led their way. They visited several persons of rank, who treated them with hospitality, and lodged and entertained them freely for a season. In all places where they came, they endeavoured to promote the Redeemer's interest, and to spread abroad the favour of his knowledge. After some time spent in this way, the old gentleman was seized with a disorder in his foot, which was very afflictive to him. This was partly occasioned by wearing his boots daily, and sometimes being deprived of proper rest and accommodations. 'Come, son,' said he to Mr. *Heywood*, 'let us trust God, and go home.' He accordingly returned to his own house, and, through the indulgence of Providence, was permitted to remain there without further molestation. Some of his persecutors said, 'He is an old man, and cannot live along, let him alone.'

This holy man of God, as Mr. *Heywood* calls him, Mr. *John Angier*, was born at *Dedham*, in *Essex*, Oct. 8, 1605. He was of *Emanuel* college, *Cambridge*. For some time, after he left the univer-

sity, he resided with Mr. John Cotton, at *Boston*, in *Lincolnshire*. He was a nonconformist, but had episcopal ordination, from Dr. Lewis Bayly, author of the *Practice of Piety*, who ordained him without subscription. A most excellent character is given of him by his son-in-law, Mr. Heywood, who wrote his life. He was of a sweet, moderate, catholic, healing spirit; an excellent casuist; a man mighty in prayer; a close student; of an exact and circumspect conversation; very affable and courteous; full of charity and good works, and a pattern of holiness in general. He was minister at *Ringley* about eighteen months, but being suspended through the influence of archbishop Laud, he removed to *Denton*, near *Manchester*, in 1632, and was pastor to the good people there forty-six years. I shall give the reader a short account of some of the persecutions he endured, in his own words:

‘I ought to set up some pillar of thankfulness to my God, who supported me in the work of my ministry, through inhibitions, suspensions, and excommunications, in the days of the hottest persecution. During the little time I spent at *Ringley*, where I was first called, I was twice prohibited from preaching. For the first nine or ten years I spent at *Denton*, I preached not above two separate

rate years without interruption. I was, in that time, twice excommunicated. Our sabbath-assemblies were often distractingly and sorrowfully broken up. I was often forced away from my family and my flock, without any apparent probability of being permitted to return. Yet, through the prayers of the church, God was pleased continually to renew my liberty, as my persecutors from time to time interrupted it. They shut the door against me, but the Lord opened it; they repeated their attacks, and were again disappointed of obtaining their end, namely, of keeping me in perpetual silence.

When the army was at Stockport, within three miles of us, the plundering troops passed by my door without injuring any thing. No one of the family would venture to stay in the house. There was no opportunity of removing any thing out of the way. We left all, committing ourselves and our property to the protection of God, by prayer. On our return, to our great surprise, we found nothing wanting, not a door opened, nor a window broken. In former days, scarce a year passed but I was driven from home; yet in these late troubles, excepting for one month, I have been permitted to abide in my habitation. Having obtained help of God, I have laboured long, and suffered much

among my people. The Lord hath preserved them hitherto, in truth, piety, and peace, to my great comfort in all my tribulation. Blessed be his holy name for ever.'

In the year 1647, he published a treatise on the worship of God, and, according to the custom of the age, gave it a title somewhat quaint and singular, *An Help to better Hearts for better Times*. From the dedication of this volume, the above hints are extracted.

The troubles he met with occasioned him to sell his estate at *Dedham*, which was worth forty pounds per annum. Some Lord's days, being afraid to go into the chapel, he preached in his own house. But God was pleased, on many occasions, as Mr. *Heywood* says, to hide him from his pursuers, as *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* were hidden from their enemies. Sometimes he travelled into *Effex*, and was concealed among his friends there, till the storm raised against him was a little blown over. Warrants were frequently issued out to apprehend him, but the worst men in the country revered him in their hearts, so that they had not resolution to seize him when they had an opportunity of doing it. Sometimes the persons who were employed in search of him, have been heard to say, that they would rather give a hundred pounds than find him.

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At one time, he and his son Mr. *Heywood* being on the road together, they met a gentleman, who stopped Mr. *Heywood*, to inquire who that venerable person was, that was riding on before him; and being told that it was Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*; the gentleman replied, ‘If ever there was an angel on horseback, that is he.’

This amiable man at length finished his days in peace, Sept. 1st. A. D. 1677, in the 72d. year of his age.

In 1665, Mr. *Heywood*, and the nonconformists in general, had a little respite from the scourge of persecution. The attention of the nation was called off from them to another object. A torrent of profaneness had overspread the land. The book of sports was ordered to be read in churches on the Lord’s day. The common people, as released from every sort of restraint, gave themselves up to all kinds of diversions, not only on the weekdays, but on that day which God has required us to set apart for his immediate service. The profanation of the sabbath has always been an inlet to vice of every kind: Accordingly gaming, drunkenness, swearing, idleness, lewdness, and debauchery, now prevailed to a high degree, among people of all ranks; *Charles* and his licentious courtiers setting the example. These crying sins brought down the judg-

judgments of God on the nation. " Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

The most dreadful plague broke out this year that had ever been known in the memory of man. It was preceded by such a drought, that the meadows were parched, burnt up, and barren as the high-ways. The want of food for the cattle occasioned a grievous murrain among them, so that they died by hundreds, and by thousands. A general contagion then infected mankind. It prevailed so much, that, in the city and suburbs of *London*, eight or ten thousand died in a week. The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, especially of the poorer sort, are not to be described. Trade was at an end; all commerce between *London* and the country was entirely cut off; no man durst venture to order or receive any goods from his correspondents in the city. The country householders and farmers did not dare to receive their *London* friends, who fled to escape the calamity, till they had performed quarantine in the fields, or out-houses. If a stranger passed through a town or village, every one was afraid of him, as if he had been an enemy that sought his life.

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shops and houses in the city were constantly shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and the following inscription over the door, *Lord, have mercy upon us!* Grass grew in the streets of the city, and every night, persons, appointed to the sad office, went about with their carts, ringing a bell, and crying out, *Bring out your dead!* From *London* the plague spread into other towns and villages. It reached even into this neighbourhood. *Bradford*, *Heptonstall*, and other places were visited by it. The calamity continued for near three quarters of a year, till it had, in the city and suburbs of *London* only, swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

In this season of distress, Mr. Heywood exerted himself for the good of poor perishing sinners, as far as he had liberty and ability. And when he could do nothing more, he and others assembled together for prayer and humiliation before God. Set days for this purpose were observed every week.

Most of the established clergy fled from *London*, and deserted their parishes, at a time when their assistance was most wanted. Upon this, some of the ejected ministers ascended the vacant pulpits, concluding that a case of such an extraordinary kind would justify their disregard of the penal laws.

*Vincent, Chester, Janeway, Turner, Grimes, Franklin,* and many others, hazarded their lives in preaching, visiting the families where the calamity prevailed, directing them to the Great Physician, for the healing of their souls, and joining with them in prayer and supplication. Multitudes were now crying, ‘*What must we do to be saved! O pray for us!*’ O tell us, tell us if we may yet obtain mercy!’ Such a season of distress *England* never saw before. The ministers had their hands full of work, and they did not spare themselves. It pleased God so to protect them, that they, in general, escaped the infection. It was then very common, for people to be well and at church one day, and in their graves the next. The face of death, the arrows of destruction which wasted at noon-day, and the pestilence which walked in darkness, awakened both preachers and hearers to such a degree of fervour and earnestness, as had never been known before.

Yet it will amaze every reader to be reminded, that ere this dreadful calamity was removed, a new burden was prepared for the poor nonconformist ministers, the weight of which our Mr. Heywood felt, along with the rest. An act was brought forward in parliament, to banish them entirely from their friends and connections. This was

was called the five-mile act. It had the royal assent Oct. 31, 1665, and contained the following clauses:—‘Nonconformist ministers shall not, after the fifth of March, 1665–6, unless in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any city, town-corporate or borough; or within five miles of any parish, town or place wherein they have been parson, vicar, or lecturer—upon forfeiture, for every such offence, of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it.’ An oath was required of them, that *they would not, at any time, endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state.* The body of them refused the oath, choosing rather to leave their habitations, their relations and friends, and all visible support, than comply with what, in their own consciences, they did not believe to be right. Mr. Heywood was one of that number; for though he wished not to attempt any change in the government, he desired to worship God in that way which appeared to him from the scriptures, to be required of him.

On the day when this act took place, Mr. Philip Henry wrote in his diary as follows: ‘A sad day among poor ministers in this nation, who, by this act of restraint, are forced to remove from their friends and relations, to sojourn among strangers, and,

and, as it were, to dwell in *Mesech*, and in the tents of *Kedar*. But there is a God who tells their wanderings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their wives and children, into his bottle; are they not noted in his book? The Lord be a little sanctuary to them, and a place of refuge from the storm and the tempest! May he pity those places whence they are ejected, and come and dwell where they are forbidden to reside!'

For some time Mr. Heywood kept himself concealed in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and other parts. When he visited his poor family, it was generally in the dead of night, in the most private manner. But in a course of years, the edge of the five-mile act began to be a little blunted, the rage of persecution somewhat abated, and this good man, having his heart still set on his Master's work, ventured to accept of invitations to preach at different places.

*Bramhup Hall*, in the parish of *Otley*, the residence of *Robert Dinely*, Esq. was a common asylum for distressed nonconformist ministers, for many years. This gentleman received the poor who were cast out, into his house. His hall was a *Bethel*, where the worship of God was maintained till his death, which happened in the year 1689. Mr. Heywood often preached there. He like-

likewise, as above related, obtained favour in the eyes of some church-wardens and conformist ministers, so far as to be admitted occasionally into the pulpits of churches and chapels, where he spoke the word of God with boldness. His audiences were generally very numerous, and an abundant blessing attended his labours; particularly at *Idle, Bramley, Farnley, Morley, Pudsey, and Hunflet.*

In the year 1669, preaching occasionally in a private house, near *Leeds*, he was interrupted by some evil-minded persons, and carried before the mayor, who treated him with rudeness and severity. ‘Have not you,’ said he, ‘been in our hands before?’ Mr. *Heywood* replied, ‘Your worship may perhaps be mistaken as to my person; I am no mover of sedition; in political concerns I never interfere; all I seek is to bring sinners to repentance, and so to promote the spiritual and eternal welfare of my fellow-creatures. I was never in prison but once, and that was for the king, in the attempt which was made in his favour by Sir *George Booth*.<sup>\*</sup> After a great deal of rude treatment, Mr. *Heywood* was ordered to

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\* This was called the *Cheshire* rising, and was in opposition to the powers which were then uppermost. Sir *George Booth*, afterwards Lord *Delamere*, was the leader. This was in *August*, 1659, the year before the king's



be confined in a dungeon called *Capon Hall*, a room like a hog-stye, having nothing in it but heaps of straw. But the next day, by the interposition of some persons of respectability in *Leeds*, the mayor sent for him, and, as if conscious of the impropriety of his behaviour the preceding day, treated him with great civility, and released him.

Notwithstanding the severities inflicted on this worthy man, he was assiduous in improving all opportunities for serving the interests of immortal souls. He could not desert the duties of that sacred office to which he had solemnly devoted himself. He counted not his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the min-

king's accession. In a little while the small army of Sir George was scattered, near *Northwich*, by Lambert's forces. The country people called it the *Cheshire race*. Mr. Cook, an eminent minister in *Chester*, and many others, among whom was our Mr. Heywood, were taken prisoners, for favouring the king's cause, and the city of *Chester* was threatened to be deprived of its charter. They were for some time under confinement at *Liverpool*; but the plague breaking out in that town, they were removed to *Ormskirk*. Their friends were permitted to visit them, and to hold free intercourse with them. The prisoners spent much of their time in prayer, and other religious exercises; strengthening one another's hands in the work and way of the Lord. It is said, they left a favour of seriousness and piety behind them, in the towns where they were imprisoned, the happy effects of which continued for a long season.

ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

A little before this time Mr. Heywood wrote that very valuable work, called *Heart-Treasure*, the first he published. It is dedicated to his beloved friends and neighbours, the inhabitants of *Coley*, and the parts adjacent. Among other particulars in this address, he says, ‘ My God hath humbled me among you. You know how I have served the Lord with many tears and temptations, which have befallen me ; yet God is faithful who hath supplied me with strength equal to the day, and hath at last made a way to escape..

‘ Some may think better of me than I deserve, and others worse ; the consideration of both has tended to humble me. O that you and yours may be in a state of acceptance with God, and walk worthy of him in all well-pleasing, though I be disapproved of men ! Let Christ and his cause live, though we die. Let souls be enriched, though we be impoverished. Let people be rich in grace, and we shall be full of comfort. This shall be our consolation in the midst of persecution. Oh how would our people’s spiritual gains countervail our temporal losses ! It is better, infinitely better, that you be enriched with our wares, than we with yours. Our greatest treasure, as ministers, lies in

the prosperity of your souls. We seek not yours but you; and it will be unspeakably more comfortable to us if you give up your souls to Christ, than if you were to give all your estates to us. This is one of *Paul's* paradoxes, O that it may be verified in our success among you, *As poor, yet making many rich.*

The writing of this treatise hath been, in my circumstances, somewhat painful, yet hath it also been very pleasant and delightful to me; and this I can say, I never found variety of matter so flowing into my mind at any time, as I have experienced in writing this book. If the Lord do good by it, I have my end. That you may have a treasure of grace laid up in your hearts, and a treasure of glory laid up for you in heaven, is the constant prayer of a sinful worm, who desires to continue with you for your furtherance and joy of faith,

Oliver Heywood.

June 14, 1666.'

This year, the dreadful conflagration happened in *London*, in which, very soon after the plague, a considerable part of the city was laid in ashes. It began Sept. 2, and, within three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, and eighty-nine churches, among which was

was St. Paul's cathedral. Multitudes of people lost their whole property, and some few, their lives. The king, the duke of York, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but no power of man could stop it, till at length it ceased, almost as wonderfully as it began.\*

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\* To represent, without any any exaggeration, the ravages committed by this fire, I shall give the reader a copy of the inscription on one side of the monument erected on this occasion :

' In the year of Christ, 1666, the second day of September, at the distance of 202 feet (the height of this column) a terrible fire broke out about midnight, which, driven on by a high wind, not only wasted the adjacent parts, but also very remote places, with incredible noise and fury. It consumed eighty-nine churches, the city-gates, guild-hall, many public structures, hospitals, schools, libraries, a vast number of stately edifices, thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, and four hundred streets. Of the six and twenty wards it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered, and half burned. The ruins of the city were four hundred and thirty-six acres, from the Tower, by *Thames'* side, to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate along the city wall, to Holborn-bridge. To the estates and fortunes of the citizens it was merciless, but to their lives very favourable, that it might in all things resemble the last conflagration of the world. The destruction was sudden; for in a small space of time, the city was seen most flourishing, and reduced to nothing. Three days after, when this fatal fire had baffled all human counsels and endeavours, in the opinion of all, it stopped, as it were, by a command from heaven, and was on every side extinguished.'

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers gone, the nonconformist ministers resolved again to supply the necessities of the people; and it was thought hard to hinder men from worshipping God any way they could at this time. They fitted up large rooms, with seats and galleries, for the reception of as many as would come. And the preachers were not at present prosecuted as before.

This year was remarkable for the fall of the earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*. *Rapin* says, ‘From him came all the blows aimed at the nonconformists, from the beginning of the reign of *Charles Second*. He was at the head of all the penal laws which were made against them. He gloried in his hatred of that people.’ This summer the king took the seals from him, and he was impeached for high treason before the house of Lords, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings. He was banished the king’s dominions for life, by act of parliament.

The act before-mentioned, which passed against the poor nonconformists, in 1664, called *The Act against Conventicles*, distressed them very heavily. This act was renewed, and made still more severe in 1670, by which the great charter of British liberty was strangely violated. The worst and most

most infamous of mankind had it in their power to bring their peaceable and quiet neighbours into great trouble and perplexity. Multitudes of perjuries were committed to obtain the rewards promised to informers. Convictions were made without a jury, and even without the parties accused being suffered to speak for themselves. Many heavy penalties were inflicted; houses were plundered; property seized; and families disturbed sometimes by day, and sometimes at the most unseasonable hours of the night, without any cause, or shadow of a cause, if only one malicious person would pretend that he suspected some religious meeting was held there.

In the revival of the act, some new clauses were added; for instance,—‘That if any justice of peace shall refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds. And — That all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or *mittimus* shall be made void, or reversed, for any default in the form; and if a person fly from one county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found.’

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This law did not lie dormant; it was executed with great rigour. Informers were every where at work. They crept into religious assemblies in disguise, and levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Many industrious families were reduced to poverty, and multitudes of individuals shut up in jails, for want of ability to pay the fines.

The archbishop of *Canterbury*, as *Rapin* informs us, wrote to all his suffragan bishops a circular letter, enjoining them to make exact inquiry into the conventicles held in their dioceses. After he was provided with the necessary informations, he went to the king, and obtained from him a proclamation, to put the laws in execution against the dissenters. A committee was appointed to inquire into the behaviour of this part of his majesty's subjects. This committee, after having received divers informations, made their report, 'That in the very neighbourhood of the parliament, divers conventicles were held &c.' It seems, the acting persons were somewhat ashamed to shew so much resentment against men on account of religion, and therefore they generally charged them with holding seditious meetings, though there was not the least ground for this accusation.

In the midst of his troubles Mr. Heywood published that excellent book, which he entitled *Closet Prayer*; and which, making proper allowance for the mode of writing then in use, is perhaps one of the best treatises on the subject to be met with in our language. The introductory epistle is dated Oct. 31, 1668. He abounded in the exercise of which this book treats, and might truly say with the Psalmist, Psal. cix. 4. "For my love, they are my adversaries: but I give myself unto prayer." The divine throne was his refuge in the days of calamity. This resource was left to him, when he was neither suffered to preach unto his dear flock, nor even to visit them in private. He was well qualified to write on the subject of closet-prayer, since he had long been in the habit of exemplifying the rules himself which he laid down for others.

He was eminent for personal holiness, keeping his heart with all diligence, and making it his constant aim to live near to God, as is evident from every part of that account which he kept daily of the state of his mind. As the consequence of this, he was of a peaceable and humble spirit, making it his study and endeavour to give no offence either to Jew or Gentile, or to the church of God.

In 1670, Mr. Heywood, at the earnest solicitation of many persons, preached to his old people in

in *Coley* chapel, Mr. *Hoole*, who was then minister, being absent. Upon this, a warrant was issued out to distrain upon his goods, to the amount of ten pounds. Warrants were also granted against several persons for being hearers. Mr. *Heywood* himself gives the following account of the whole affair:

' May 22, 1670, as I was rising out of my bed, my servant came to inform me, that there were two men who desired to speak with me. Their business was to ask me, if I would venture to preach in the chapel, Mr. *Hoole* being absent, and no notice being given of a vacancy, many of the people would come and be disappointed. At first I absolutely refused. They told me they should be sorry to bring me into trouble, but if I were willing, the chapel doors should be opened, and the bell rung as usual. I hesitated a while, consulted some neighbours, begged direction of God, and, on the following considerations, at length consented: they were my ancient people; I had been forcibly thrust from them; the spirits of opposers seemed to be now much moderated; it being *Whit-funtide*, if there were no service, the sabbath would be profaned; many persons accused us for not being bold enough to venture upon duty where there was the appearance of danger; and, in a word, I considered the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, who

who would go into *Judea*, though he knew the Jews there sought to kill him; this consideration had the greatest weight with me. ‘The souls of poor sinners,’ said I within myself, ‘are of such value, as should induce us to hazard all, where there is the prospect of being useful to them; and who knows but God may have designs of mercy to accomplish on some this day?’

‘Upon this, I went to the chapel about nine o’clock, and having entered the pulpit, I read some portions of scripture, and after a psalm was sung, I prayed and preached without any interruption. My text was *Judges v. 31*. *Let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.* Soon after one in the afternoon, we assembled again, but before the service was concluded, Mr. S— E— brought T— H—, the churchwarden, and S— W—, the overseer, threatening to fine them five pounds each, if they refused to act. The officers seemed to dislike the business; but Mr. S— E— pushed them on before him. One of them was so awed and ashamed, that he was seized with a fit of sickness, sunk down into a seat, and could not lift up his head, nor give any account of the persons who were present. The informer walked from place to place in the chapel, looking at the people to see who they were; and now and then fixing his eyes upon

upon me, but saying nothing. This occasioned some distraction to us, but I was enabled to go on, requesting the attention of the congregation, and desiring them to look in their bibles for the proofs to which I referred for the confirmation of what I delivered. When the officers went out, Mr. S. E. sent one of them in again, to take down names. He returned himself, and walked through the chapel, sometimes standing at the ends of seats, looking people in the face, and then going out into the yard to complete his list of names. But though the place was filled with his own neighbours, he and the officers were so confused, that they could not make out the names of more than ten persons in the congregation. About eight days after, Mr. W-- and Mr. C--, two justices of the peace, took my business into consideration. The informer S-- E-- was present, asking the officers from time to time, 'Did you not see such a person there?' But of the many hundreds who were in the chapel on the day above-mentioned, still only ten could be nominated.

• July 13, J-- M--, constable, T-- H-- and S-- W-- came to make distress on my goods, with three bearers to carry them away. The constable took hold of the bed whereon I used to lie, and putting off his hat, said, 'I seize on this bed for his

goods'

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Majesty's use.' I told them it was sufficient for them to mark the goods, and leave them till there were persons to buy them. They replied, 'The informer will buy them.' So they took the bed and bedding, some tables, chairs, chests and books, to the value, at least, of fourteen pounds. My wife desired them to take chairs instead of the meal-chest. They, however, paid no regard to her entreaties, but taking a curtain, and spreading it upon the floor, they poured our little stock of meal upon it, and took away the chest.

' They carried the goods to a public-house, where they had bespoke a good dinner, telling the people they would have overplus goods in plenty, to pay for what they might spend. They got persons of their own cast to value the goods; and, upon their partial valuation, they amounted to ten pounds, sixteen shillings and eight-pence; but they were certainly worth much more. Ten large books they valued at thirty shillings: They sent about the bell-man in *Halifax*, to cry a sale of the goods, but they could not sell one article. The justices told the officers they might take them, and divide them among themselves; but this they did not choose to do, as they said they had no immediate occasion for them. The constable, growing entirely weary of the business, was glad to deliver

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all up to the man, who succeeded him in the office. The people of the house where the goods were lodged, grew impatient about them, and told the officer, if he did not take them away, they must be thrown out of doors; for they would not have them any longer. They then got leave to lay them up in a barn at *Coley Hall*. This was a year after they were seized. At length one *Robert Reyner* came with a cart and five horses, to convey them to *Wakefield*. When they were loading the cart, one of the men said in derision, ‘*Where is Heywood’s God now, to whom he used to pray so much!*’ — ‘Ten years after this,’ says Mr. *Heywood*, ‘the bed, the bedding, the chairs, the meal-chest, the books, &c. remained still at *Wakefield*, as dead commodities; for they were there when inquiry was made about them, Aug. 13, 1680.’ The active person in this odious business was a Mr. *Stephen Ellis*.\*

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\* The following story is so very remarkable, and so well-authenticated, that I hope the reader will think the insertion of it no disagreeable interruption of the present narrative:

Mr. *Joseph Sherwood*, of *St. Hillary*, in *Cornwall*, soon after his ejectment, was cited to the spiritual court, for not going to church. He appeared, and gave for a reason of his non-attendance, That there was no preaching, and that he could not, with any satisfaction, go to church only to hear the clerk read



In the midst of Mr. Heywood's troubles, some of which we have just related, he was divinely supported by the consolations of the Holy Ghost, and the great and precious promises of the gospel. His excellent book, entitled, *The Sure Mercies of David*, was published at a time, when his own circumstances made it necessary for him to look out for relief from those important truths which, in that work, he judiciously states, and practically

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read prayers. But he promised to go the next Lord's day, if there was a sermon. Finding, upon inquiry, that there was no minister then, any more than before, he went not, and so being cited again, he gave the same answer.

The Lord's day following, great numbers went to church out of novelty, to see Mr. Sherwood there. He being informed by the church-warden, who was his friend, that there would be no sermon, went up into the pulpit, and, after prayer, preached from these words, "I will avenge the quarrel of my covenant." The rumour of this was soon spread abroad; but such was the people's affection to Mr. Sherwood, that, among the multitudes who had attended, no one was willing to give information against him, till, by art, they got an acknowledgment from the church-warden. He was then carried before a session of justices, where one Mr. Robinson sat as chairman, who greatly reviled Mr. Sherwood, and called him a rebel. This he bore with patience, and only made the following reply, 'Sir, I am a minister of the gospel, and, when I saw so great an assembly, I could not but have compassion on them, and give them a word of exhortation.'

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improves. That everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure, which is the principal subject of this treatise, was a source of consolation to him amidst all the persecutions he endured; and he could say of it, as *David* did under his many afflictions, “ It contains all my salvation, and all my desire.” His preface to this book is dated June 3, 1670, when, as the reader will observe from the preceding pages, his troubles pressed hard upon him.

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Mr. *Robinson* said, ‘ But did ever man preach from such a rebellious text ?’ Mr. *Sherwood* replied, ‘ Sir, I know man is a rebel against his Creator, but I never knew that the Creator could be a rebel against his creature.’ Mr. *Robinson* cried out, ‘ Write his mittimus for *Launceston* jail.’ And then turning to Mr. *Sherwood*, said, ‘ I say, Sir, it was a rebellious text.’ Mr. *Sherwood*, with great composure, looked him full in the face, and addressed him in these words, ‘ Sir, if you die the common death of all men, God never spake by me.’

Mr. *Sherwood* was sent to prison, where he found favour with the keeper, and had liberty to walk out into the town. Mr. *Robinson* returned home; but, a few days after, walking in the fields, a bull, which before had been very tame, came up to a gate where he stood, and his maid before him, who had been milking the cows; the bull, turning the maid aside with his horns, ran directly upon Mr. *Robinson*, and gored him in such a manner that he died.

This awful catastrophe brought to mind what had passed at the sessions; and, in a little time, Mr. *Sherwood*

would

'Two things,' says he, 'are absolutely necessary to make a man happy; the first is, that what he possesses be fully adequate to the wishes, capacities and desires of his soul; and the second, that it be made over to him, legally and everlastinglly. The divine remedy proposed in the gospel is not deficient in either of these respects. It is answerable to all our necessities, and it is sure and certain in itself. "I will make with you an everlasting covenant, even the sure mercies of David."

*wood being permitted to return home, he was sent for to a meeting of justices at Penzance.* He immediately went, though he expected no other than being sent back to jail. But when he came there, Mr. Godolphin took him into a private room, and said, 'Sir, I sent for you, to know how you came to express yourself in such a manner, when we committed you; you know what has since befallen Mr. Robinson.' Mr. Sherwood replied, 'Sir, I was far from bearing any malice against Mr. Robinson, and can give no other answer to your inquiry, than that when we are called before rulers for his name's sake, whom we serve, it shall be given us in that very hour what we shall say.' To which Mr. Godolphin replied, 'Well, Sir, for your sake, I will never more have a hand in prosecuting nonconformists.'—On this story, the truth of which cannot justly be called in question, the reader is left to make his own reflections.

## CHAP. III.

*His Liberty in some Measure restored.*

IN 1671, a favourable prospect appeared before the dissenters. Whatever were the motives which induced *Charles* to grant them a little favour and indulgence, the object itself being desirable, they embraced it with thankfulness. The king's declaration was published this year, *March 15*, in which were the following particulars;—  
‘ We think ourself obliged to make use of that supreme power, in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so, by several statutes and acts of parliament. We declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists, or recusants, be immediately suspended.’

The protestant dissenters were aware that the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would serve the interests of popery. Yet most of them thought it best to make use of it while it lasted. A cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to

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the king for their liberty ; but all were afraid of the consequences.

Most of the ministers in *London* and the country took out licences ; that granted to Mr. Heywood was as follows :

‘ *Charles*, by the grace of God—To all mayors, bailiffs, constables and others, our officers civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration, of the fifteenth of March, 1671—2, we do hereby permit and license *Oliver Heywood*, of the congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his house at *Northowram*, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of *England*, who are of that persuasion commonly called congregational, with further licence and permission to him, the said *Oliver Heywood*, to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration.

Given at our court, &c.’

Whatever were the secret springs of this indulgence, the thing itself was, to the poor dissenters, as life from the dead ; it gave them some reviving in their bondage ; and they were so well pleased with it, that they thanked God who had put such a thing into the king’s heart. The pious man, who is the subject of these memoirs, addressed himself with

with all diligence to the improvement of this gale of opportunity. And that kind hand of Providence which had brought him through so many straits, now furnished him with the means of accomplishing his wishes, so far as that he could, in a house of his own, dispense the word of life without molestation, and receive all that came unto him.

Rapin says, ‘The king had formed a sort of scheme with regard to religion; this was, to incorporate the presbyterians with the church of *England*, and grant a toleration for all other nonconformists. He might have a double view in this; as first, to gain the presbyterians, who were very numerous in the kingdom, to his interests, and perhaps make use of them, thus united with the church of *England*, to allay the heat of the episcopalians, who were not less enemies to the papists than to the presbyterians. If the king had not been a papist, it would have been difficult to account for his politics. For supposing him a zealous member of the church of *England*, what need had he of guarding against her? But being a catholic, the advantage of these precautions is very visible.

His second view, allowed by all the world, and manifestly discovered afterwards, was, by granting an indulgence to all nonconformists with-

out exception, to procure the same favour for the papists. In pursuance of this scheme, the king and his mistresses affected to shew great kindness for the presbyterians; and this behaviour gave them encouragement to appear more openly. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, the lord keeper, ordered Dr. *Manton* and Mr. *Baxter* to be acquainted, that he desired a conference with them. They accordingly waited on him, and he frankly told them, that his design was to make them some proposals, for a comprehension of such dissenters as could be brought into the communion of the church of *England*, and for procuring a toleration for the independents and others.

' The conferences were carried on for some time, between the two ministers above-named, and the lord keeper's chaplains, Dr. *Wilkins*, and Dr. *Burton*. It was agreed, that ceremonies should be left indifferent, so that they might be used or not, according as every man saw convenient; and that the liturgy should be altered in many places. Those who could not be comprehended should be indulged. Agreeably to this scheme, the lord chief justice *Hales* took upon him to draw up a bill against the ensuing parliament, and the lord keeper promised to support it with all his power. But (says *Rapin*) it only ended in smoke.'

Mr.



Mr. Heywood received his licence to preach, on Saturday, May 4, 1672. He bought a house at Northowram, and two crofts, of Mr. Benjamin Boys, of Halifax; for which he paid 100 marks, or sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. To this house he removed from Caley Hall, May 8, 1672. It was now opened for the public exercise of divine worship; and, so far as I can learn, the congregation continued to assemble here for many years, before the chapel was built.

A regular society was now formed, over which Mr. Heywood presided, as pastor. On this occasion he afterwards wrote the following memorials:

‘These repairings of our decayed communion, and solemn engagements to God and one another, were made in May, 1672, immediately after God restored us to our liberty. And the Lord hath given us four years opportunity of attending upon him in his ordinances, and in private days of fasting and prayer. We have come together to the Lord’s table, every month, or sometimes every six weeks. The last sealing ordinance we enjoyed was on June 4, 1676. Ebenezer.’

The solemn manner in which Mr. Heywood gave himself up to God and his church, and the church’s formal agreement to walk together according to the order of the gospel, are expressed in the following instruments: ‘I

I Oliver Heywood, in the county of York, minister of the gospel, having spent above twenty years in the Lord's work, amongst the inhabitants of Coley chapelry, having been suspended ten years from the public exercise of my ministry, and now at last restored to the discharge of my pastoral work in mine own house, by his majesty's declaration made, and being dated, March 15, 1672, do willingly and thankfully accept of this open liberty of my ministry, lamenting my former neglects, justifying the Lord in the evil which he hath brought upon us, begging reconciliation, and a better heart to do God's work more diligently, and imploring his blessing for success, and now resolving, by the assistance of God's grace, to give up myself to the Lord's work among this people, in studying the scriptures, preaching the word in season and out of season, praying with and for them, watching over them, visiting and admonishing them publicly and privately, endeavouring to convert sinners, and to confirm, quicken and comfort saints; to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, and exercise discipline according to the rules of the gospel, so far as I am convinced from the word; to set before the people an holy example, resolving, by the grace of God, to suffer affliction and persecution with them, if God call me to it, as a faithful

ful soldier of Christ, and a pastor of souls, that at last I may give up my account with joy, being pure from the blood of all men; so promiseth the unworthy servant of Christ,

‘Help, Lord.’

*Oliver Heywood.*

Every member of the society, it appears, made the following profession :

‘I do heartily take this God for my God alone, and my chief good; and this Jesus Christ for my only Redeemer and Saviour; and this Holy Spirit for my sanctifier; and the doctrine revealed by Jesus Christ, sealed by his miracles, and now contained in the holy scriptures, I do take for the law of God, and the rule of my faith and life; and repenting unfeignedly of my sins, I do resolve, through the grace of God, sincerely to obey him, both in holiness towards my Maker, in righteousness towards men, and in special love to the saints, and communion with them, against all temptations of the Devil, the world and the flesh;—this I resolve to do, even to the end of my life.

‘I do consent to be a member of the particular church at *Northowram*, whereof Mr. *Oliver Heywood* is preacher and overseer, and to submit to his teaching, his ministerial guidance and oversight, according to God’s word; I consent to hold

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communion with that church in the public worship of God, and to submit to the brotherly admonition of fellow-members, that so we may be built up in knowledge and holiness, and may the better maintain our obedience to Christ, promote the welfare of this society, and hereby the more please and glorify God.'

### THE CHURCH COVENANT.

' We the inhabitants of *Coley* chapelry, and others, being professors of the christian religion, do willingly and heartily subscribe to the doctrine of the gospel, contained in the scriptures of truth, and solemnly profess our faith in God the Father, the Creator of all things, in Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Redeemer of his chosen people, and in the *Holy Ghost*, the sanctifier and comforter of the faithful, and do give up ourselves to the Lord in covenant, according to the terms of the gospel, to be ruled by his will revealed in the bible, acknowledging the need we have of the ministry of the word, and the seals of the covenant, for our edification; we do still own Mr. *Oliver Heywood*, whom God hath wonderfully restored to the exercise of his ministry among us, as our rightful pastor, formerly chosen by us; and we shall be willing, by the assistance of God's grace, to believe

and to practise what truths and duties he shall make manifest to us to be the mind of God ; being desirous to maintain communion with God, and with one another, in his holy worship, and mutually to discharge what duties he requires of us in his word, as members of the same body, and as occasion offers ; we resolve, by divine assistance, to walk in our places, as becomes the gospel, in all good conscience towards God, and one another, as well as to men in general ; we purpose to do this to the end of our days, against all opposition from the persecutions and allurements of the world, the temptations of Satan, and the corruptions of our own evil hearts ; with a single eye to the glory of God, and an earnest concern for our own eternal salvation.'

The names subscribed are in number one hundred and seventeen.

Mr. Heywood now preached very often abroad, besides his regular exercises at *Northowram*, particularly at *Alverthorp*, near *Wakefield*, at *Laffel Hall*, at *Sowerby*, at *Warley*, and many other places. Having now obtained the liberty of which he had long been deprived, he pursued his work with unwearyed diligence, faithfulness and constancy, till new restraints were laid upon him.

Visiting the sick, as it appears from his diary,

was

was a work to which he was often called. On these occasions, he took great pains to instruct the afflicted person, and his friends and relations who were present; looking upon it as a fair opportunity of doing good, the minds of the parties being rendered more susceptible of impressions by the rod of affliction with which they were visited.

The nonconformist ministers knew, that the indulgence now granted to them was very precarious. One of them expressed himself thus on the occasion: ‘If trouble should hereafter come upon us for the use which we make of the present liberty, I hope neither to shrink from it, nor sink under it. For I do herein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness; and the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, in the gospel of his Son Jesus Christ, can and will bear me out, and carry me through, with comfort unto the end.’ Such, I doubt not, were the sentiments of our Mr. *Heywood* at this time. As a minister of Christ, he thought himself bound to preach the gospel, when opportunity was afforded. He looked upon his own family, in the first place, as his particular charge, and the multitudes who came to hear him he could no more turn away, than he could have done a poor hungry man, who should come to his door for alms.

Seasons for divine worship were, perhaps, never so sweet to him and to his friends, as they were now, when they were kept at such uncertainties with respect to the continuance of them. "The word of the Lord was precious in those days." Sermons were preached and heard, as under the apprehension that each might be the last.

## CHAP. IV.

*He is involved in new Troubles.*

THE licences issued by the king were called in again, five or six years after they were granted, and Mr. Heywood was involved afresh in difficulties and disquietudes.

On Aug. 15, 1680, he was again cited into the consistory court at York, together with his wife, and several of his neighbours, for not going to the sacrament at the parish church in Halifax. And because they did not appear, they were all excommunicated, and the excommunications read in the aforesaid church, on October the 24th following. He was, on this account, once more obliged to keep himself shut up, as a prisoner in his own house.

It



It was customary in these parts, about this time, for warrants to be issued out by the justices at every sessions, and sent to the constables in their several parishes, and smaller districts, that they might take along with them three or four sufficient townsmen, and search suspicious places for conventicles; and if they found any, to carry the preacher, and the chief of the hearers before the nearest justice of the peace. But many of the officers, out of compassion to their inoffensive neighbours, gave notice of their coming beforehand, and so made no discoveries; by which means, the success of this design was prevented.

Upon this, the justices took another course. They ordered certain bailiffs and catch-polls, men void of sensibility, to execute the warrants. These men were more ready and forward in the odious work, and more effectually distressed and teased the poor nonconformists. By such persons as these, Mr. Heywood was now involved in greater perplexity and trouble than he had ever known before.

He was indicted at the sessions held at *Wakefield*, under the false charge of keeping a riotous assembly in his own house, and had a fine of fifty pounds imposed upon him; for refusing the payment of which, and for not finding sureties that he would

preach no more, he was sent prisoner to York castle. He had here both an expensive and troublesome confinement, from which he was not freed without much difficulty. He might well say, on this occasion, “ Be merciful unto me, O God, for man would swallow me up.”

He might have said also, as that excellent man, Mr. *Joseph Allen* did to the judge, when sentenced to pay a hundred marks, and to lie in prison till it was paid; ‘ He was glad that it had appeared before his country, that whatever he had been charged with, nothing could be proved against him but doing his duty; since all that appeared by the evidence was only, that he had sung a psalm, and instructed his family in his own house, a few others being present; but if nothing which had been urged would satisfy, he should, with all cheerfulness and thankfulness, accept whatever sentence his lordship should pronounce upon him, for so good and righteous a cause.’

This year, 1680, Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, in his sermon before the lord mayor, entitled, *The Mischief of Separation*, condemned all the dissenters as *schismatics*, and very gravely advised them not to complain. The celebrated Dr. *Owen*, in his reply to it, among other things says, ‘ After so many of the nonconformists have died in common

jails,

jails, so many have endured long imprisonments, not a few being at this day in the same durance; so many driven from their habitations into a wandering condition, to preserve for a while the liberty of their persons; so many have been reduced to want and penury by the taking away of their goods, and, from some, the very instruments of their livelihood: after the prosecution that has been against them in all the courts of justice in this nation, on informations, indictments, and suits, to the great charge of all who have been so prosecuted, and the ruin of some: after so many ministers and their families have been brought into the utmost straits under which nature can subsist; after all their perpetual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exercised and disquieted, they think it hard to be censured for complaining, by them who are at ease.

The king now shewed his real disposition towards the dissenters, and his want of sincerity in the indulgence he had before granted them. For he issued his command to the justices and others, 'to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all conventicles and meetings upon pretence of religious worship; for it was his express pleasure that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country.'\* This

\* Bishop Burnet says, in his *History of his own Times*, 'the prosecution of the dissenters was carried very

This opened the flood-gates of persecution still wider than before. Mr. *Edward Bury*, assisting at a private fast, was fined twenty pounds; and, for refusing to pay it, they took away his goods, his books, and even the bed on which he used to lie. At the same time Mr. *Philip Henry*, the father of the expositor, *Matthew Henry*, was apprehended, and fined forty pounds; and for non-payment, they carried away thirty-three loads of corn, that lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other goods. The master of the house was fined twenty pounds, and a fine was exacted of every one present. Instances of a similar nature are almost without end.

In 1684-5. *Charles the Second* died. Some traits of his character, given by Bishop *Burnet*, are here subjoined, which may, in some measure, assist the reader in accounting for his mysterious conduct towards the nonconformists.

'This prince was the greatest instance in history of the various revolutions of which any man seems

very high in 1684. They were not only proceeded against for going to conventicles (so their meetings for the worship of God were called) but for not going to church, and for not receiving the sacrament. The laws made against papists, with relation to those particulars, being now applied to them. Many were excommunicated and ruined by these prosecutions.'

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capable. For the twelve first years of his life, he was educated with the splendor which became the heir of so great a crown. After this he passed through eighteen years in great inequalities; unhappy in the war, in the loss of his father, and of the crown of *England*.

‘ After he lost the battle of *Worcester*, he wandered about in disguise for ten weeks; but under all the oppressions which lay upon him, he shewed a temper so careless, and so much turned to levity, that he diverted himself with little domestic sports, in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had suffered no loss, and had been in no danger at all. He got at last out of *England*; but he had been obliged to so many, who had been faithful to him, and careful of him, that he seemed afterwards resolved to make an equal return to them all; and finding it not easy to reward them as they deserved, he forgot them all alike.

‘ While he was abroad, he never seemed to lay any thing to heart; but pursued all his diversions and irregular pleasures in a free career.

‘ On his restoration, he gave up himself to sloth and lewdness to such a degree, that he hated business, and could not bear to engage in any thing that gave him trouble, or put him under any constraint. Though he desired to become absolute, and

and to overturn both our religion and our laws; yet he would neither run the risk, nor give himself the trouble, which so great a design required. He had so ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things and all persons with a depth of craft and dissimulation. He had an appearance of gentleness in his outward deportment; but he seemed to have no bowels nor tenderness in his nature; and in the end of his life he became cruel. He delivered himself up to a most enormous course of vice, without any sort of restraint, even from the consideration of the nearest relations; the most studied extravagancies seemed, to the very last, to be much delighted in, and pursued by him.

\* His ill conduct in the *Dutch* war, and the terrible calamities of the plague, and the fire of *London*, made all people conclude (says the bishop) that there was a curse upon his government. His manifesto, relating to toleration, was a step for the introduction of popery. No part of his character looked meaner, or more wicked, than that he, all the while that he professed to be of the church of *England*, and to have zeal and affection for it, was yet secretly reconciled to the church of *Rome*: thus mocking God, and deceiving the world by so gross a prevarication. His not having

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the honesty or courage to own this at last, his not shewing any sign of remorse for his ill-spent life, or any tenderness, either for his subjects in general, or for the queen and his servants, and his recommending only his mistresses to his brother's care, would have been a strange conclusion to the life of any other, but was well enough suited to all the parts of his.'

Charles was succeeded by his brother, James the Second, who was a professed *Roman* catholic.—Persecution had abated a little on the king's death, but it soon revived again; for James was resolved to pursue his brother's measures.\* The cruelties of his agent, the inhuman *Jefferies*, are sufficiently known. The dissenters assembled in

\* In the year 1685, when the stream ran so very strong against dissenters, Mr. Philip Henry being in discourse with a dignitary of the established church, mentioned king Charles's indulgence, in 1672, as that which gave rise to his preaching in a separate assembly; and added, 'If king James should in like manner give me leave, I would do the same again.' To this the great man replied, 'Never expect any such thing from him, for, take my word for it, he hates you nonconformists in his heart.' 'Truly,' said Mr. Henry, 'I believe it, and I think he has no great love for you of the church of *England*.' The person to whom Mr. Henry said this was one of the seven bishops, who soon after had the honour of being committed to the tower, by king James.

private places for divine worship, sometimes late in the evening, and sometimes early in the morning. There were friends standing without to give notice of the approach of informers; and, in some places, they had trap-doors, through which the minister might make his escape. They were obliged to omit one part of divine worship, that of singing, for fear of being heard. But all would not do: Informers crept in among them in disguise, and put them to trouble.

Papery now gained ground at a great rate. The mercenary judges gave it as their opinion, that the laws of *England* were the king's laws, that it was a branch of his prerogative to dispense with all penal laws on particular occasions, and of these occasions, the king was the sole judge. Thus the laws of *England* were given up at once into the hands of the king. In dispensing with the penal laws,

The secret designs of this prince were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt; and they were, in a short time, by the over-ruling providence of God, happily defeated.

The indulgence he granted so suddenly and unexpectedly to the dissenters, in April, 1687, must needs be a reviving to those who, for so many years, had been buried in silence, and held under the bonds of restraint. Those who will allow themselves for a moment to consider the case to have been their own, will not wonder that they should be glad of it, and rejoice in it.

laws, though it was designed particularly to give liberty to the papists, yet, of course, it gave the same liberty to protestant dissenters. Thus, all on a sudden, prosecutions against them ceased, and a licence-office was opened, where all that applied might, on paying fifty shillings, have an indulgence. By this strange turn of affairs, through the wise providence of God, the nonconformists were wonderfully relieved. The king published a declaration for liberty of conscience, which was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels.

‘ It is very probable,’ says *Rapin*, ‘ that there was not in the whole nation one single person who had a thought, that the king designed any indulgence or favour to the nonconformists. All the world saw clearly, that his aim, from this declaration, was to build the popish religion on the ruins of the protestant. For how could any man entertain a thought, that the king, from a violent persecutor, should, at once, become a friend to the dissenters? Or what assurance could there be, that his promises to the nonconformists would be better kept than those he had made to the church of *England*? Nevertheless, so great had been the rigour with which the nonconformists had been treated, that it ought not to surprise us, if they at first thought themselves happy in a deliverance from persecution. This

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was the reason of so many addresses of thanks for the king's gracious declaration, from the several denominations of dissenters. The baptists led the way, the quakers followed, then the independents, and lastly, the presbyterians.

'The king, to secure success to his design, made the hardships and persecutions which the nonconformists had suffered from the church of *England* the common topics of his discourse in all companies. No greater pleasure could be done him, than to entertain him with the particulars of these oppressions. To give the church of *England* a still more sensible mortification, he ordered an examination to be made into the processses which had been issued out of the ecclesiastical courts, against the dissenters.'

This weak and bigotted prince abdicating the throne, the glorious revolution took place in 1688. *William* and *Mary* ascending the vacant throne, the act of toleration, so long desired, was brought forwards; and, after some time, it passed into a law; by which the sufferings of the nonconformists were, in a great measure, brought to a happy conclusion.\*

Mr.

\* The act of toleration, entitled, 'An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of *England*, from the penalties of certain laws,' rendered the dissenters easy, contented, and



Mr. Heywood, after having weathered the storm for so long a season, and being now far advanced in life, was permitted to spend the residue of his days in peace.

He now erected a house for God at Northowram, near to his own habitation. When he laid the first stone, he kneeled down upon it, and spent a whole hour in giving thanks to God for the establishment of that liberty which had been so long desired, and in praying for the success of present and future endeavours, for the promotion of the cause of Christ.

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and thankful. Some years after it was granted, Dr. Henry Sacheverel asserted in a sermon, that the act of toleration was unreasonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable. For this and other assertions, he was impeached by the house of commons. I shall here subjoin some of the remarks made on this occasion, by the managers for the commons. Sir Peter King publicly declared this toleration to be one of the principal consequences of the revolution. Lord Lechmere said, that the commons esteemed the toleration of protestant dissenters to be one of the earliest and happiest effects of the revolution, wisely calculated for supporting and strengthening the protestant interest, the great end of the revolution itself. Mr. Cowper owned, that this indulgence was required from the legislature, as they were christians, and as they were men, professing humanity and good-will towards one another. The attorney general added, that this was one of the most necessary acts for the good of the kingdom.—Upon the whole, Sacheverel's doctrine of wholesome severities was publicly branded.

Some years after this period, the justly celebrated poet, Dr. *Watts*, expressed his gratitude for the glorious revolution, in the following verses :

To thee, most holy and most high,  
To thee we bring our thankful praise ;  
Thy works declare thy name is nigh,  
Thy works of wonder and of grace.

*Britain* was doom'd to be a slave ;  
Her frame dissolv'd, her fears were great ;  
When God a new supporter gave,  
To bear the pillars of the state.

He from thy hand receiv'd his crown,  
And sware to rule by wholesome laws ;  
His foot shall tread th' oppressor down,  
His arm defend the righteous cause.

Let haughty sinners sink their pride,  
Nor lift so high their scornful head ;  
But lay their foolish thoughts aside,  
And own the king that God hath made.

Such honours never come by chance,  
Nor do the winds promotion blow ;  
'Tis God the judge doth one advance,  
'Tis God that lays another low.

No vain pretence to royal birth  
Shall fix a tyrant on the throne ;  
God, the great Sov'reign of the earth,  
Will rise, and make his justice known.

## CHAP. V.

*Some Account of his Labours after his Restoration to full Liberty by the Revolution.*

THIS happy period was, to Mr. Heywood, and to other nonconformist ministers, like beginning life anew. Joy and thankfulness inspired their hearts, and animated all their ministerial labours. When *Cyrus* proclaimed liberty for the free exercise of religion, the Lord's servants, who, for many years, had lain dead, were brought out of their graves. On this occasion, the prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded thus to address them; “Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of *Israel*. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves.” *Ezek.* xxxvii. 12, 13. This prophecy was verified anew in respect to many hundreds of God's ministers and their congregations, at this period.

The celebrated Mr. *John Flavel*, after a long and gloomy season of restraint and silence, now entered afresh on his public labours, with the following address to his hearers:



‘ This day hath our compassionate Redeemer opened unto us a door of liberty; liberty for us to preach, and liberty for you to hear the glad tidings of the gospel. This is a day few looked for. How often have I said, in the years that are past, *God hath no more work for me to do, and I shall have no more strength or opportunity to work for him!* And how often have you said in your hearts, *We have fanned our ministers out of their pulpits, and our eyes shall no more see our teachers!* But lo, beyond the thoughts of most hearts, a wide, and, I hope, an effectual door is now opened in the midst of us. O that it might be to us, as the valley of Achor was to Israel, for a door of hope! The troubles they met with in that valley were an inlet to their mercies, as ours have been to us; and that valley was given them as a pledge of greater mercies intended for them. Upon the first appearance of this mercy, my next thoughts were, how to make the most fruitful improvement of it among you, lest we should twice stumble at the same stone, and sin ourselves back again into our old bondage.

‘ In the contemplation of this matter, the Lord directed me to a portion of his word, wherein the same hand that opened to you the door of liberty, knocks importunately at the doors of your hearts, for

for entrance into them, for union and communion with them. It will be sad indeed, if he that hath let you into all these mercies should be shut out of your hearts. But if the Lord should help you now to open your hearts unto himself, I doubt not but this door of liberty will be kept open to you, how many soever the adversaries be that envy it, and will do their utmost to shut it up. The mercies you enjoy this day are the fruits of Christ's intercession with the Father, for one trial more. If we bring forth fruit, well ; if not, *the ax lieth at the root of the tree.* Under this consideration I desire to preach, and even so the Lord help you to hear what shall be spoken from this precious scripture, *Behold I stand at the door, and knock ; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.*

This was a word in season ; and we are informed that there was a remarkable out-pouring of the Spirit, at the time when this holy man preached his set of sermons from the words he had chosen on this occasion, and many were turned to the Lord.

Mr. Heywood has left among his papers the following memorandum :

' I began to preach in the new meeting-place, which I built in Northowram, July 8, 1688. Several

veral persons from Warley, and elsewhere, were on that day admitted members of the society.'

It has often been said, that the peaceable reigns of princes, though most desirable for their subjects, are the most unfavourable for their historians. On the same ground, a state of uniform tranquillity in private life will not furnish the biographer with many particulars to engage the attention of his readers.

The remaining part of Mr. Heywood's life was filled up with industrious labours in God's harvest. He justly esteemed it the highest honour, and the sweetest pleasure a man can enjoy in this world, to serve that illustrious Redeemer, and promote his interest, who has loved us, and given himself for us. His heart was now greatly enlarged in his work; the fields were white unto the harvest; his labours were abundant, in season, and out of season, stated and occasional; and it pleased God to give him many seals of his ministry, which will be his joy and crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.

His religious sentiments may be best learnt from his printed works; for the books which he published contain the substance of what he, from time to time, preached to the people.

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What is observed of a great man, who flourished at the same period, might be applied to him, as to the manner of his preaching: ‘When he grew old, he would say, *Surely I may now take a greater liberty to talk in the pulpit.*’ That is, to speak familiarly to the people.’ In one place I find this remark in his diary; ‘I delivered, at Sowerby, a sermon I had not studied; but it pleased God to help me, and I found great freedom.’ But, in general, he abated not to the last in his preparations for the pulpit; so that though his preaching approached, in some degree, to the familiarity of conversation, he never delivered any thing raw and undigested; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching might, by himself, be called talking, it was talking to the purpose. And such a mode of preaching is perhaps better suited to the capacities of a common audience, than a more smooth and polished manner of address, which, though it may please the ear, and gratify the taste of persons of refinement, is not so well calculated to answer the great ends of preaching. A free and familiar address quickens the attention, rouses the conscience, and comes home to the heart of the hearer. The milk which nourishes the sucking child comes warm from the breast of the mother; so it is with

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the sincere milk of the word. When it flows freely from the fervent mind of him that ministers it, the purposes of spiritual nourishment are most likely to be answered by it.

Mr. Heywood was so fond of retirement, that though he was pleased with the company and conversation of religious friends at proper times, yet he counted those his happiest hours which were spent in converse with God and his word in solitude. When he had formed the plan of a discourse, which he intended to deliver in public, he first preached it over to his own heart.

It was a wise reproof which a grave divine administered to a young preacher, who entertained his auditory with an elaborate discourse; after he had commended his parts and pains, ‘There was,’ said he, ‘one thing wanting in the sermon; I could not perceive that the Spirit of God was in it.’ And though morality is good, and necessary to be taught and practised, yet it is much to be lamented, that many preachers scarcely deliver any better discourses in their pulpits, than what may be found in *Seneca*, *Epidetus*, *Plutarch*, and some other heathen moralists. Christ, the Holy Spirit, and, in a word, the gospel, is not in their sermons. But Mr. Heywood preached the truth as it is in Jesus; and he who took the book out of the right hand of

him

him that fitteth upon the throne, and is worthy to open the seals thereof, was pleased now to open a door of liberty for him, which no man could shut, and to crown his affectionate and faithful labours with abundant success.

Mr. Heywood was a son of consolation. He opened the free and precious promises of the gospel for the relief of wounded consciences, and the encouragement of drooping souls, answering the many objections raised by such against themselves, to their abundant satisfaction. He was likewise a son of thunder, for the awakening of such as were secure, as is evident from what is contained in many of those discourses which he afterwards published.

He dwelt upon the most plain, practical and experimental truths, avoiding unnecessary controversies, to which, it appears, he had a fixed dislike. He judged, with Zwinglius, that when the truth is rightly understood, and well established, error will fall of itself. Religious contentions he disrelished as much as did the famous Summerhald, who said, (*quis me tandem liberabit ab ihsu rixosa theologia?*) ‘Who will deliver me from this quarrelsome theology?’

In social and public prayer Mr. Heywood was very powerful. What the apostle James says of

denois everymew, the in-wrought prayer of a righteous man, was eminently exemplified in him. How his own heart was affected in this exercise from time to time, appears from every page of his diary; and the serious people who united with him could not but be animated, in some degree, with the same fervency of spirit which he discovered. The ministers of those times were mighty in prayer. Like wrestling *Jacob*, they wept and made supplication; they had power with God, and prevailed. Mr. *Angier*, the father-in-law of Mr. *Heywood*, was so remarkable for this, that he was by some called *weeping Angier*. While he was employed in this solemn part of divine worship, the tears frequently trickled down his cheeks in great abundance. Mr. *Isaac Ambrose* has left this remark concerning him, in his *Media*. "Upon a solemn day of fasting and prayer in *Manchester* church, Mr. *Angier* concluding the exercise, his prayer was so powerful, that I believe it melted all hearts. For my own part, it pleased the Lord so to soften and to break mine, that as far as I remember, it was never in such a melting frame in any public ordinance before."

These excellent men lived near to God from day to day. They gave themselves unto prayer in their seasons of retirement. They had familiar

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intercourse with their heavenly Father, who seeth in secret, and he rewarded them openly, by enlarging their hearts in the public exercises of devotion. The manner in which they were enabled to acquit themselves in this part of their ministerial service, was an evident indication, that they were not strangers at the throne of grace. Their fellow-worshippers might take knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus.

The ordination of ministers was, in these times, attended to with great seriousness and solemnity. The day being fixed, notice was given of it some time before, and frequently a paper was put up on the door of the place of worship, signifying, 'That if any one could produce any just exceptions against the doctrine or life of N. N. or any sufficient reason why he might not be ordained, he should certify the same to the *classis*, on the ~~same~~, and it should be heard and attended to.' Mr. Heywood was often called to assist in the work of ordination.

The questions usually proposed to the candidates, by the ministers concerned on these occasions, were such as the following, to which suitable answers were required:

'What are your ends in undertaking the work of the ministry?' *and no bid for me in this*

- What are your purposes, as to diligence and industry in this calling?
- Do you mean to be zealous and faithful, in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism?
- What is your persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion?
- What do you intend to do when the Lord shall alter your condition, and bring a family under your charge?
- Will you, in humility and meekness, submit to admonition?
- What if troubles, persecutions, and discouragements arise, will you stand fast in the Lord unto the end?

I shall here subjoin a summary account of the ordination of Mr. *Waddington*, which was on June 6, 1682. The examination was attended to sometime before. Mr. *Jollie* began with a short prayer. Mr. *Waddington* made his confession. Mr. *Frankland* prayed; then Mr. *Benson*; then Mr. *O. Heywood*; then Mr. *Kay*. Mr. *Jollie* discoursed about an hour, on the duty of a minister, his office, his work, and his qualifications. Messrs. *Frankland* and *Heywood* asked the questions. Mr. *Jollie* prayed over the minister, while he and the rest laid on hands. Mr. *Jollie* gave

the charge, in which he spent about an hour, and then pronounced the blessing. The ministers present then gave Mr. Waddington the right hand of fellowship, and signed a certificate of his ordination.

The method pursued on other occasions of the like nature was similar to the above.

## CHAP. VI.

## Extracts from Mr. Heywood's Diary.

Mr. Heywood recorded in his diary the several transactions of his life, with great exactness. From all the accounts he kept of the state of his own mind, it appears, that he had a deep sense of his failings and infirmities. He complains of dulness and distractions in holy duties, and humbles himself before God on account of his daily imperfections; crying out for mercy and forgiveness, through the blood of Jesus, as if he had been guilty of the greatest offences. He lived a life of penitence and humiliation, often making mention how much his heart was melted at such and such a time. Yet he had large experience of the supports and

consolations of christianity, which he also thankfully acknowledges. He walked closely with God, and he who does so will walk humbly; like the apostle *Paul*, who, though he had been caught up to the third heaven, yet exclaimed, "O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

After he was restored to liberty, it appears, that, in one year, besides his regular work on the Lord's days, he preached one hundred and five times, kept fifty days of fasting and prayer, and nine of thanksgiving. He travelled that year, in his Master's service, one thousand four hundred miles.

His diary contains many interesting particulars, but is written so close, in so very small a character, and is so injured by time, that it is exceedingly difficult to make out the sense.

I hope the following extracts will gratify the reader. But, for the reasons just mentioned, I am not absolutely certain that the transcript is perfectly exact, in respect to dates, and proper names of persons and places.

#### OCTOBER, 1679.

2d. Day. I rode to *Stubbing's*, and preached at *Samuel Hopkins'*. God wonderfully melted my heart in prayer, and assisted me in preaching

from these words, "Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works."

3. We had our solemn day of humiliation at my house. God was pleased to assist me wonderfully in praying and preaching. It was a precious season.

4. Was assisted in study, though much interrupted. My wife and I resolved to spend some time in prayer together.—Distracted by company.

5. God wonderfully enlarged my heart in prayer, preaching, and administering the Lord's supper. Blessed be his holy name.

6. Visited the family of *J. Baxter*, and was comforted in prayer. Studied the rest of the day.

7. My wife and I rode to Mr. *Sharp's*, at *Little Horton*, where we kept a day of thanksgiving, for family deliverances. It was a good season, though my heart was not so much affected as I have experienced on the like occasion. Lord, shew me the cause!

8. My son *Eliezer* and I rode to Mr. *Cotton's*, at *Denbigh*, where God mercifully assisted us in the act of worship, in which we were both engaged.

9. Mr. *Hancock* and I preached at Mr. *Cotton's*. He on these words, "Giving thanks to the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance

heritage of the saints in light." And I on the following, "But this I say, brethren, that the time is short." God graciously comforted my heart in the work of the day.

10. Visited some other friends; set out after dinner, called on Mr. Thorp, rode home, and were mercifully delivered from the dangers of the waters by the way. Blessed be God!

11. Was graciously assisted in all the public services of the day, and filled with comfort. Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever!

12. Attended the funeral of Robert Ramsden, of Halifax, called on Dr. Hook, and visited other friends.

13. Rode to Dam-head, where God wonderfully melted my heart in prayer, and in preaching to a full assembly from these words, "Now therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider your ways." The Lord gave hopes of good, by stirring up the affections of those who were present.

14. Was mercifully assisted in making preparation for the work of the ensuing day. My heart was quickened in offering praise and thanksgivings to God for his unnumbered mercies.

15. We had a day of thanksgiving for public and family mercies. Mr. Dawson was employed in offering up our praises to the Lord, after which

I was

I was engaged in the same delightful work, and in preaching.

17. We had a solemn day of fasting and prayen at *John Kershaw's*. O what a heart-melting token was this to us! I hope God will hear and answer prayer.

18. In study and prayer was much enlarged. It was a good day. Glory be to the name of my merciful Father.

19. We had a numerous assembly. I would be thankful for some measure of comfort, though I did not experience such meltings in prayer, as at some times.

20. I travelled to *Great Gomersal*, kept a solemn fast with Mr. *Dawson*, Mr. *Holdsworth*, and many more. The Lord sweetly melted my heart in prayer and preaching.

21. Took a journey towards *Gravesend*, visited *John Foster's* family, and preached at *Tho. Leech's*, to a considerable company. In the evening, the Lord assisted *Tho. Leech*, *Mick. Bradley*, and myself, in praying for the nation.

22. Preached at *John Hey's* to a full assembly. The Lord wonderfully blessed us in prayers. Many tears were shed, and the people were so much affected, that, at some times, my voice was scarcely heard. I have seldom known the like before. Surely it is a favourable token.

24. I came with some friends to *John Baldwin's*, where some time was spent in useful discourse. Returning home at night, I saw great reason to bless God for this sweet journey.

25. Endeavoured to study, but my heart was cold, dead, and distract'd. The Lord pardon me.

26. This was a day of mercy. The Lord helped me in praying and preaching amongst a multitude of people. The text, "He also shall be my salvation."

27. We kept a solemn fast at *Alice Holt's*, at *Cochil*. O what a day was this! What meltings of heart, and shedding of tears before the Lord! Mr. *Dawson*, Mr. *Priestley*, Mr. *Bradshaw*, and myself were employed in prayer. Blest be my good God for such seasons as these!

28. We had a solemn fast at Mr. *Dawson's*, on account of the nation. My heart was sweetly enlarged.

29. Preached at *Sowerby*, on Feb. x. 24. Alas! I see many defects in what I do, and great cause for humiliation; yet the Lord stands by me to help me in the time of need.

30. Was much refreshed in cloister-prayer, but afterwards lost much time in seeking some sermons which I could not find. The Lord pardon me. Afterwards visited *John Langley*, discoursed and pray'd with him.

1803. DELIVERED NOV. 21 Nov.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The Lord graciously led my thoughts to a text, after I had been much agitated about the choice of one. My heart was then quieted, and I was helped in studying.
2. Preached on these words, "Thy will be done." I was much helped and comforted.
3. Studied in the morning, and in the afternoon Mr. Dawson and I rode to Morley, and lodged at Mr. John Brooksbank's. We had the next day a double lecture at the meeting-house, Morley, where there was a large assembly. Mr. Dawson's text was, "There is none like the God of Jesus Christ." Mine, "Let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works." For assistance afforded to us both, we have great reason to be thankful.
4. Visited several friends at Leeds, discoursed with them about the concerns of their souls, and joined with them in prayer.
5. We had a meeting preparatory to the ordinance of the Lord's supper at Morley; after which I went to Leeds, and lodged at Mr. Hicks'.
6. Dined with Dr. Whitaker, and discoursed about some unhappy differences among good people.
7. Rode to Alverthorpe, where I was much assisted

assisted in prayer and preaching. On my return home, I found all well, after this long absence. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

11. Preached at *John Butterworth's* of *Warley*, where God brought many people to hear, and gave my soul sweet enlargement, in speaking to them, and praying with them.

12. We had a day of fasting and prayer at *James Tolley's*. God graciously helped me in the work, especially in praying for the nation.

— Went to *Little Lever*, the place of my nativity, and preached there to a full assembly of my relations, and my old neighbours and friends. God was with us in a gracious way.

— At *Coddeny chapel* I was mercifully assisted in preaching to a large audience of serious people. And afterwards, at the house of my relation, Mr. *Peter Heywood*. Returning to *Rochdale*, God gave us a merciful opportunity in worshipping him, at *Robert Milner's*.

Travelling towards *Wakefield*, I visited *John Bushead*, *Josiah Oates*, and other christian brethren, lodging at Mr. *Jenkinson's*, of *Horbary*. The next day, after preaching at *Alverthorpe*, rode towards *York*. In that city, I waited on Lord *Clifford*, and Lord *Fairfax*, lodging at night with Sir *John Haulsey*. Preached at *Lady Wilson's*, and spent

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the evening with Lady *Hewet*. God dealt graciously with me. The next day I visited many friends, and dined at Sir *John Hewley's*, with Lord *Clifford*, Sir *Gilbert Gerhard*, Sir *John Brook*, and others. The morning after, I was called upon to preach in Lady *Hewley's* chamber. God mercifully assisted me, and gave me freedom. His mercies are infinite.

1680.

Jan. 2. Lord's day. Was sweetly comforted in praying and preaching. I attempted to describe the fruits which the Lord expects from his vineyard; and, blessed be his name, he was pleased to make it a good day.

12. Mr. *Dawson*, several others and I kept a day of solemn humiliation, at the house of J. K. in *Wyke*. God sweetly melted my heart, and helped me in preaching from *Psal.* lvi. 8. "Thou tellst my wanderings; put thou my tears into thy bottle; are they not noted in thy book?"

13. Rode to *Bingley*, preached at *Jos. Walker's*, at *Rushworth Hall*, on *Psal.* cxix. 158, "I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved, because they kept not thy word." A full assembly. Had good assistance. In the evening several brethren prayed; it was a good season.

14. Called on Mrs. *Ferrand*, of *Bingley*, diff  
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coursed and prayed with her. Conversed with another person at *Cottingley* under trouble of mind. Called on Mr. Joseph Lister, and returned home in safety, though it was a very stormy day.

16. We had a day of fasting and prayer at my house, on account of M. R. My heart was sweetly melted while Mr. Dawson was employed.

17. Studied closely, and was much assisted, but not so comfortable in prayer with my wife and servant, as at other times.

18. Preached at *Kipping*, and was graciously helped through the day's work.

19. Attended the funeral of that gracious young woman, *Grace Baslow*, at *Halifax*. Mr. Hook preached.

22. Went to *Sowerby*, and preached at *Stublings*; my God graciously assisting me; blessed be his holy name; it was a good day.

25. Lord's day. We assembled for divine worship at *Wm. Clay's*, and were exceedingly thronged, yet God was with us of a truth.

26. We had a day of fasting and prayer at *Wm. Clay's*, on account of the gloomy aspect of public affairs. There were many present, and O, what a heart-sinking day was it unto us!

28. Rode to *Captain Hodgson's*, where we had a day of fasting and prayer. God wonderfully assisted



assisted those who were employed in wrestling with him in behalf of the nation.

— Was greatly assisted in my studies, though somewhat interrupted by company. That pious christian, Mr. Joseph Lister, paid us a visit.

— My Lord Rutherford did me the honour to call upon me. We spent most of the afternoon together, I hope, to mutual edification. I returned to my chamber in the evening, where it pleased God to afford me his gracious help in my studies.

— Lord's day, I preached at Alverthorp, and was mercifully assisted in every part of the work.

— Friday, we had a solemn day of fasting and prayer, preparatory to the Lord's supper. It pleased the Almighty to favour us with tokens of his gracious presence. My own heart was deeply affected in prayer and preaching.

Monday, much interrupted in my studies by visitors. Have to complain of dulness and stupidity of mind. Lord pity and pardon me.

Tuesday, spent about six hours in secret prayer and meditation, and am unable to express what I then experienced. O what a season of humiliation and of comfort was it to my poor soul! Blessed be the holy name of my gracious God for ever.

— We had a private fast at James Halford's,

which was to us a time of spiritual refreshment from the presence of the Lord. My heart was very deeply affected while Mr. Joseph Lister, of Kipping, prayed.

Thursday, I preached to a large assembly at Sam. Hopkinson's, from these words, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a christian." I trust God was with us of a truth, and that some good was done among us.

— Preached to a full assembly at Mr. Leech's, Bingley, from the precious declaration of our Redeemer, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." It was a refreshing season to myself, and, I hope, to many others.

— We had a large assembly at Mr. John Butterworth's, Morley, where I spent about four hours in prayer and preaching, with great pleasure and enlargement of heart. Blessed be the Father of mercies. The words dwelt upon were, "Which of you, intending to build a city, or a tower, setteth not down first, and counteth the cost?" It was a merciful season indeed.

Lord's day was a sweet day to my soul. It pleased God to melt my heart exceedingly in pleading with him in behalf of the nation.

— Preached at Warley to a very large assembly, many of whom seemed to be deeply affected. — O,

that



that I may be thankful for the mercies poured upon us at that happy season !

Monday afternoon, we spent six hours in prayer. Seven young men were called to the exercise, and were much assisted.

Lord's day, April 13, 1679. I rode to *Shaw-chapel*, and preached there to a numerous and an attentive congregation without any disturbance. But at night I was apprehended by Mr. *Thomas Baskervil*, high constable, and carried before Mr. *Entwistle*, of *Ormskirk*, justice of the peace, who treated me very roughly. Lord sanctify this trial to me, and do me good by it ! I was required to give security for my appearance at *Manchester* the next quarter sessions, which being done, I was set at liberty.

*Mem.* I attended at the sessions accordingly, was called upon, and examined, but God, in his good providence, working for me, I was honourably acquitted.

This month I took a long journey into *Nottinghamshire*, visited many friends, preached often, in different places, and to large audiences. I was admitted into the church at J——, and preached before Sir *Ralph Knight*, and many other gentry; from these words, " Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple."

God graciously helped me through the whole of what I had to do, and gave me a prosperous journey. Part of my business was to visit my son *Eliezer*, whom Providence has fixed in that part of the country.

## CHAP. VII.

*An Account of some of his Relations and Connections.*

THE following is transcribed from the register of *Halifax* church.

'*Mr. Oliver Heywood, of Northowram, clerk, aged twenty-five years, and Miss Elizabeth Angier, of Denton, gentlewoman, aged twenty-one years, were published at the public meeting-place, called Halifax church, at the close of the morning exercise, upon three Lord's days, viz. April the 1st, the 8th, and the 15th, 1655.'*

*Mrs. Elizabeth Heywood* was the daughter of a very eminent and worthy minister, *Mr. John Angier*, of *Denton*, near *Manchester*. It was *Mr. Angier's* opinion, that a regular approach should be made to marriage, by mutual contract. This rule was observed respecting his daughter *Elizabeth's*

beth's marriage to Mr. Heywood. They were contracted at the close of a solemn day of fasting and prayer, in the study of Mr. Angier, by Mr. Nathaniel Rathband, who delivered an excellent discourse on the occasion, from *Mat. i. 18.* "When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph." About a month after this, they were solemnly married in the chapel at *Denton*, before a numerous congregation. Mr. Harrison preached a suitable discourse, from *Eph. v. 31.* "And they two shall be one flesh." After this, Mr. Angier gave a decent and sober entertainment to above an hundred persons, at his own table. Thus the marriage of Mr. Heywood resembled that at *Cana*, in *Galilee*, which Jesus honoured with his presence, where he manifested his glory by working a miracle, and where his mother and his disciples were guests.

Mr. Heywood has left this memorial of his lovely and beloved wife; 'She was the mirror of her age for parts and piety.' But it pleased God to deprive him of so dear a companion in his tribulation, about six years after their union. Mrs. Heywood was seized with a consumptive disorder; her affectionate father, hoping that her native air might be of service, sent for her to *Denton*; but nothing could save her from the stroke of mortality. She languished till the 26th of May, 1661, and then

breathed out her heaven-born soul into the bosom of her Saviour. This was an affecting dispensation to her pious husband, as well as to the rest of her relations, to whom she had endeared herself to a high degree, by her many amiable qualities. Though they were abundantly satisfied respecting her everlasting state, yet her death went so near their hearts, that great grace was necessary to enable them to bear it with composedness and christian resignation. She was buried beside her own mother, in the yard of *Denton* chapel.

She had been taught in youth to fear,  
To love, and live to God ;  
And she had learnt 'twas good to bear  
A Father's chast'ning rod.

Her soul obtain'd its wish'd release,  
And fled above the skies ;  
Her mortal frame shall rest in peace  
Till Jesus bid it rise.

Mr. Heywood was married to his second wife, Mrs. *Abigail Crompton*, at *Salforth* chapel, on Thursday, June 27, 1667. She survived her husband, continuing a member of the church, and bearing an excellent character. She died at *Northowram*, June 12, 1707, aged seventy-five.

On

On May 23, 1694, Mr. Heywood preached a funeral discourse at *Bolton*, in *Lancashire*, occasioned by the death of his relation, Mr. Peter Heywood, of *Little Lever*, who fell down and expired on the road, as he was going to *Bury* fair. The discourse was well adapted to the awakening dispensation of Providence, from Job ix. 23. "If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent."

Mr. John Heywood, the son of Mr. O. Heywood, was admitted member of the church at *Northowram*, July 15, 1677. He went to teach school at *Kirk-Heaton*, the following year, May 27, 1678. He was afterwards called forth to the work of the ministry, to which he was solemnly set apart, Aug. 23, 1681. His father has left the following account of his ordination, which was at the house of Mr. John Hey, in *Craven*.

Mr. Iffot began with prayer, in which he continued for about an hour. Mr. John Heywood, the candidate, preached a handsome, well-compacted discourse, on Mat. v. 14. *Ye are the light of the world; a city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.* He then prayed very sensibly. He afterwards produced five testimonials from places where he had preached, and conversed. Mr. Frankland then examined him, and he read his thesis, *An episcopus*

idem

*idem fit qui presbyter?*\* The next morning Mr. Dawson began with prayer, for about an hour. Then Oliver Heywood prayed for an hour and a half. When the candidate had delivered his confession of faith, they proceeded to imposition of hands, Mr. Frankland making the ordination prayer. The ministers then gave Mr. John Heywood the right hand of fellowship. After which Mr. Dawson preached on 2 Tim. ii. 15. "Study to shew thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Prayer was then made, a psalm sung, and the blessing pronounced. In the afternoon, Oliver Heywood preached on Psal. xlii. 17. "All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falsely in thy covenant."—This last sermon, very probably, was adapted to the times; for about this period this worthy minister was sorely harassed by citations from the spiritual court, by public excommunication, by being fined fifty pounds for preaching in his own house, and pursued by bailiffs and constables, whom the justices excited to execute the warrants with rigour. I cannot think on the feelings of the good old man, without shedding tears of sympathy, when he dwelt upon the text

\* Whether a bishop be the same with a presbyter?

just mentioned, "All this is come upon us; yet have we not forgotten thee."

*Eliezer*, the second son of Mr. Heywood, was received into communion, Dec. 30, 1677. He was afterwards pastor of a congregation in *Derbyshire*. If I am rightly informed, he was married, and had several children. But where the descendants of Mr. Oliver Heywood are now fixed, by the disposing hand of Providence, I know not. Some years ago, I heard of a grandson of his, who was a minister of the dissenting interest, I think, at *Mansfield*. Mr. Palmer says Mr. *Eliezer Heywood* survived his brother *John*, and was sometime pastor of a church in *Devonshire*.

Mr. *Nathaniel Heywood*, of *Trin. Coll. Camb.* was brother to Mr. *Oliver Heywood*. He was born at *Little Lever*, in the parish of *Bolton, Lancashire*, in *September, 1633*. He dated his first fixed seriousness of mind, from the time of his sitting under the ministry of Mr. *S. Hammond*, who was preacher at *St. Giles's*, when he was at the university. On leaving *Cambridge*, he was some time with Mr. *Edward Gee*, of *Ecclestone*. He first settled at *Illingworth* chapel, in the vicarage of *Halifax*. In 1657 he removed to *Ormskirk*, where he continued a diligent and successful labourer, till he was silenced in 1662. When he was about to quit his

his living, a poor man thus addressed him, ‘ Ah, Mr. Heywood, we would gladly have you preach still in the church.’ Mr. Heywood said to him, ‘ Yes, and I would as gladly preach as you can desire it, if I could do it with a safe conscience.’ The poor man replied, ‘ Oh, Sir, many a man now-a-days makes a great gash in his conscience; cannot you make a little nick in yours?’

He continued in the parish, and was abundant in his labours among his old hearers. As his successor, Mr. Ashworth, lived at some distance, he continued visiting the sick, and preaching privately, as he had opportunity; usually twice on Lord’s days, and frequently on week-days, ordering his labours in the several parts of the parish, both in the day and the night. In times of great danger, he preached at one house the beginning of the night, and then went two miles on foot over mooses, and preached, towards morning, to another company of hearers who waited for him.

Mr. Nathaniel Heywood had a son born to him, whom he called after his own name, rejoicing greatly on the occasion of his birth. But his joy was soon turned into mourning. He left Mrs. Heywood as well as could be expected on the Lord’s day, when he went to discharge the duties of his office. But she was suddenly taken so ill, that Mr.

Hey-

Heywood was sent for. He cut short the service of the day, and hastened home, but found the wife of his bosom a breathless corpse.

Upon the indulgence in 1672, he licensed two places; the one at *Bickerstaff*, the other at *Scarsbrick*, both in the parish of *Ormskirk*, and preached on the Lord's day at each alternately. After the licences were called in, he met with much trouble, and frequent interruptions in his work, even at *Scarsbrick*, though the chapel belonged to a lady of quality, who, at the advice of a member of parliament, had a person to read the common-prayer in it.

'On the Lord's day, Dec. 20, 1674, there came three men, while Mr. Heywood was in prayer before the sermon, and, when he had ended, one of them came up to the pulpit, and said, 'Sir, you are our prisoner, come down, and go along with us.' Mr. Heywood desired he might be suffered to preach, and promised then to submit. But the wretch held a pistol to his head, and with dreadful curses and threatenings, ordered him down. Some persons, however, of character and influence espousing his cause, he was kept from prison, and his goods were not wrested from him; but his spirit was overwhelmed with grief on account of his people, whom he loved as if they had been his children.'

He

He afterwards wrote to his brother *Oliver* as follows : ‘ I wish neither you nor any other faithful minister, who minds and loves his work, may ever know what I have felt in the want of people, and of employment. Other afflictions are light, compared to a muzzled mouth, and silent sabbaths.’

A little before he died, he said to a friend, ‘ I think this turning us out of our licensed places will cost Mr. *Yates* and me our lives. Oh, it goes heavily ! Being cast out of our great places was not so afflictive as being excluded from our poor little retreats, where we hoped to promote the welfare of souls, in peace and security.’

God gave him favour in the sight of those with whom he conversed. He had no adversaries but those who were such for matters pertaining to his God ; yet even these would commend his preaching ; and some of them, when they came to die, could not rest till they were at peace with him. One Mr. *Brownlow*, of *Ormskirk*, had discovered much bitterness of spirit against Mr. *Heywood*, for his nonconformity ; but when he lay upon his death-bed, he sent for Mr. *Heywood*, and entreated him to pray with him, and to favour him with his company as long as he lived.

Mr. *N. Heywood* died Dec. 16, 1677, in the 45th year of his age. He was an excellent preacher, and

and a man of exalted piety. He was instrumental in saving many families and individuals in these parts, from being perverted by the errors of popery. A few hours before his death, being asked by a minister, whether his nonconformity were any trouble to his mind in the prospect of his leaving the world, he answered, 'No, it is a great comfort to me.' He signified his full satisfaction in what he had done and suffered, in pursuit of a further reformation. An account of his life was published in 1695, by Sir *Henry Ashurst*, Bart. and dedicated to Lord *Willoughby*, of *Parham*. After his death, some sermons of his were published by his brother *Oliver*, to which he prefixed a prefatory epistle. The sermons are entitled, *Christ Jesus, played as the choicest Gift, and the best Master.* It appears from a MS. in my possession, that *Nathaniel*, the son of the above *Nathaniel Heywood*, was minister at *Ormskirk*, and died there Oct. 26, 1704.

Mr. *Joseph Dawson* was Mr. O. Heywood's alter *idem*,\* the man of his counsel, with whom he joined frequently in religious exercises, especially on days of humiliation and prayer, as is evident from many parts of his diary.

Mr. *Dawson* was ejected from *Thornton* chapel, near *Bradford*. After which, his family resided

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for

for some years not far from *Northowram*. When the times would permit, he preached occasionally in the neighbourhood. He was a very pious and learned man, of great esteem for his integrity, prudence, humility and meekness; a very close student, a lively and an affectionate preacher, unwearied in his labours for the good of souls, and very successful in his ministry. His aspect was venerable, his deportment grave, and he had a good report of all men. In his circumstances he was exercised with considerable straits and difficulties, as he had a large family; yet he never repented of his nonconformity, but was patient, submissive, and resigned to his lot, being eminently distinguished for his self-denial, and his steady faith in the divine promises.

In the year 1688, the jubilee of poor dissenters, he was chosen minister of the chapel at *Morley*, near *Leeds*, which has this peculiarity belonging to it, that it was for many years the parochial church. But in the year 1650, the lord of the manor, then the earl of *Suffex*, granted a lease for five hundred years, to a number of feoffees, of the chapel, the yard, the parsonage house, and two small closes, only for the use of a preaching minister, paying the annual rent of twenty shillings.

Mr.

Mr. *Dawson* brought up four sons for the ministry, three of whom survived him. The youngest of these, Mr. *Eli Dawson*, had seven sons; six of these were educated as dissenting ministers, but four of them conformed. Dr. *Benjamin Dawson* is well known in the literary world, by his several publications in defence of religious liberty. Dr. *Thomas Dawson* has long been eminent as a physician at *Hackney*, having been educated for that profession. The writer of these memoirs supposes that he is still living.

Mr. *Henry Root*, sen. of *Mag. Col. Camb.* was minister at *Sowerby* chapel, near *Halifax*. He travelled into foreign parts for some years after he left the university, before he settled at *Sowerby*. He gathered a congregational church there, in 1645. Of this church he was pastor till 1662. After *Bartholomew-day*, he preached in his chapel for half a year, but was at length treated with great severity. In 1663, he was forcibly taken out of his own house, by virtue of a *mittimus* upon a  *significavit*. The three bailiffs who were employed on this occasion, broke the inner door of a room where he was sitting, and hurried him away in a manner very unsuitable to his age and weakness. They would not suffer him so much as to take his coat, his staff, or even the little money he had by

him to defray his expences. They treated him, in various other respects, with rudeness and cruelty.

He was a prisoner in *York* castle for three months; and some time after he had been released, he was committed a second time, and continued there for three months more. But the justices having discovered the commitment to be illegal, he was discharged. Yet he was a third time sent to the same prison, by Sir *J. A.* without any cause being assigned. He was kept close prisoner in a small room for a considerable time, his wife was not permitted to visit him, nor even to come into the castle. He died 1669, aged about 80 years, and was buried at *Sowerby*. His son, Mr. *Timothy Root*, was minister at *Sowerby Bridge* chapel, and suffered greatly for his nonconformity. He was obliged to leave his habitation and family, with the farm which he occupied, to his great loss. While he was in *Lancashire*, among some relations, he was invited to preach in a chapel there. In the time of divine service, a certain doctor came and disturbed him, exhibiting an indictment against him for preaching; but the doctor having made a mistake respecting his proper name, he was dismissed. Five months after, he was invited to preach at the same chapel again, and, it being vacant, he complied. For this he was indicted, and put to a great deal of trouble and expence.

In August, 1670, he was invited to preach at Shadwell chapel, near Leeds. While the congregation was singing a psalm, Lord S. came with twenty-four troopers, and some bailiffs. Mr. Root was dragged out of the pulpit into the chapel-yard, where his life was endangered by the trampling of the troopers' horses. Mr. Root desired them to keep off their horses, saying, 'I am in your hands, and ye are in the hands of God.' Lord S. said, 'In God's hands, no; thou art in the Devil's hands.' They searched his pockets, and finding a receipt in which his name was inserted, they made a *mittimus* to carry him to York jail, where he was kept a close prisoner. The jailor told him, that except he would give him twenty pounds, he should be loaded with double irons, and confined among the felons, in the lower jail. After fourteen days confinement in an upper room, he was brought forth, and double irons were put upon him, heavier than those of the common thieves, whose fellow-prisoner he was now to be. The jailor locked the inner door in the day-time, and would not permit him the liberty allowed to the felons, of taking the air in the castle-yard. Mr. Root had procured a bed, which the jailor would not suffer him to set up, but compelled him to lie upon straw. On the Lord's day, Mr. Root would have preached to the

prisoners, but while he was at prayer, an order was brought from the head jailor, requiring him to desist. When he had continued for some time in this confinement, two justices in the West sent a certificate for him, upon which he was released, though not without giving bond for his appearance at the next assizes. He accordingly appeared, but no indictment being found against him, he was finally discharged. These troubles were attended with great expence, and very afflictive and even hazardous to his wife, who, about this time, lay in of her fourth child.—Mr. *Root*, wearied with continual persecution, at length conformed.

In a MS. of Mr. *Oliver Heywood's*, I find the following memorandum: ‘After the death of Mr. *Henry Root*, of *Sowerby*, the society which he had gathered in the congregational way were scattered. Some of them made proposals to unite with us, and to sit down among us at the Lord's table. Upon this we appointed a meeting, which was held on Tuesday, June 18, 1672, at my house; where God granted a good agreement among the parties concerned, and it was concluded to hold communion together, as occasion offered, in all God's ordinances.’ A list is then subjoined of the names of those who, on this occasion, commenced members of Mr. *Heywood's* society. Among these



I find, Mr. *Joshua Horton*, Mrs. *Martha Horton*, his wife, Mr. *Josiah Stansfield*, Mrs. *Stansfield*, his wife, and many others, the ancestors of some very respectable families now in the neighbourhood of *Sowerby*. Among the rest, the venerable name of Mr. *Robert Tillotson*, of *Haugh-end*, attracts peculiar attention. He was the father of the celebrated archbishop *Tillotson*, who was born at the house just mentioned, in Nov. 1630. \*

It is well known that Dr. *Tillotson* was educated in the principles which have been stigmatized with the name of puritanical. Before he went to the university, he was a hearer, along with his father and other relations, of Mr. *Henry Root*, of *Sowerby*, mentioned above, who suffered so much for non-conformity, and after he was admitted of *Clare Hall*, in *Cambridge*, he maintained a friendly correspondence with him. The following epistle from Mr. *Tillotson* to Mr. *Root* has been preserved,

which,

\* Mr. *Robert Tillotson* went up to *London*, on a visit to his son, when he was Dean of *Canterbury*, and being in the dress of a plain countryman, was insulted by one of the Dean's servants, for inquiring if *John Tillotson* was at home. His person, however, being described to the Dean, he immediately exclaimed, 'It is my worthy father,' and running to the door to receive him, he fell down upon his knees in the presence of his servants, to ask his father's blessing.

which, being literally and exactly copied, will no doubt gratify the curious reader:

\* For his much respect. friend Mr. *Roote*, att  
*Sorbey*, in Yorkshire,

are these.

Sir,

To excuse the slownes and infrequency of writing, is growne a thing soe complementall and common in the frontispeece of every letter, that I have made choice rather to put my selfe upon your candor to frame an excuse for mee, than goe about my selfe to doe it.

I cannot but thankfully acknowledge my engagements to you for your kindnes showne to mee, both when I was in the country, and at other times; I shall not here let my pen run out into complementall lines, gratitude (and that as much as may be) being all that I desire to expresse.

As for our university affayres, things are as they was before I came into the country, only wee have lesse hopes of procuring Mr. *Thomas Goodwin* for our Master then we then had. Wee are in expectation of the Visitors \* every day, but what will be done at their comming wee cannot guesse.

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\* The question which the visitors put to every person, high or low, in every college, who had any place of profit, was this, 'Will you submit to the power

.....Φ.....

The engagement is either comming downe hither, or (as I heare) already come, to which how soone wee may bee called upon to subscribe, we knowe not; as for my selfe I do not (at present) at all scruple the taking of it; yet because I dare not confide too much to my owne judgement, or apprehension of things, and because matters of such serious consequence require no little caution and consideration, therefore I shall desire you (as soone as with convenience you can) to returne mee your opinion of it in two or three lines.

Mr. Rich. Holbrooke desired mee to present his respects to you and your wife, to whom alsoe I desire you to present my best respects, as alsoe to your son, Joh. Hopkinson, and his wife. Noe more, but your prayers for him who remaines,

Yours, whilst

Clare-Hall, Dec. 6,

Joh. Tillotson.'

1649.'

The

power of the parliament in this visitation? To this inquiry all were to give in their answer in writing, and accordingly were either continued or dispensed. Some chearfully complied, others absolutely refused. Among the last was one who gave in this bold answer, 'I neither can nor will submit to the power of the parliament in this present visitation; I say I cannot, I say I will not. J. C.'

The engagement here referred to, was an act substituted in the room of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which was ordered to be subscribed by every one who held either office or benefice, whereby they engaged themselves 'to be true and faithful to the government established, without king or house of peers.' It is highly probable that Mr. Tillotson took this engagement, though he afterwards saw reason to depart from it.

Some years after, when he was Dean of Canterbury, he visited his friends in Yorkshire, and preached before his father at Sowerby. His discourse was not favourable to the system commonly distinguished by the name of calvinism; but the contrary. After the service, one Dr. Maud asked Mr. Tillotson how he had liked his son's sermon. The old gentleman replied, in the blunt manner in which he used to speak when he asserted anything with earnestness, 'I profess he has done more harm than good.'

This venerable old disciple was buried at Sowerby, Feb. 22, 1682, being more than ninety years of age.

Archbishop Tillotson maintained that strictness of life to which he had been bred among the non-conformists, and retained a just value, and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He had a sweet-

sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived. In the year 1661, he continued a non-conformist, and has a sermon in the Morning Exercises, on *Matt. v. 12.* "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Though he complied with the act of uniformity, 1662, he was always inclined to the puritans, and never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would sometimes dispense with such as could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer. He was, notwithstanding the high station to which he was advanced, of moderate principles to the last, and always bent upon promoting toleration. In 1669 he was made canon of *Christ Church*, in *Canterbury*, and three years after, Dean of that church; but rose no higher till the revolution by king *William* and queen *Mary*, when he was first made clerk of the closet, and at length archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Heywood*, in some of his papers, has given short hints of the characters of some of those who died in communion with that church of which he was pastor. I shall select a few instances.

Mr. *Joseph Dawson*, minister of the gospel, living near us for many years, commonly held communion with us. He afterwards settled at

*Morley,*

*Morley*, where he conscientiously discharged the duties of his ministerial office. *Mrs. Martha Dawson* his wife, though under many discouragements of mind, yet generally partook of the Lord's supper, while in the neighbourhood. See page 133.

*Jonathan Priestley*, of *Winteridge*, near *Coley*, and *Phebe* his wife. She was a choice servant of God. Her life was written by her own husband.

*Abigail Heywood*, my dear wife, whom God hath made truly gracious, and a great comfort to me.

*John Stancliffe* of *Hag-stocks*, a shining, solid christian. *Phebe Stancliffe*, a very gracious, zealous woman; one of a thousand.

*Hannah Worrel*, the wife of *Jeremiah Worrel*. She was a very pious woman, and died in the faith, 1670.

*Susanna Northend*, an ancient christian. She died 1679, aged about 80.

*Hannah Hadger*, the first person, so far as I know, that God was pleased to awaken by my ministry. She was a choice christian, and after enduring much affliction, died in the faith, and was buried at *Halifax*, Apr. 30, 1676.

*Maria Robinson*, wife of *Simeon Robinson*. She was an upright christian. After having patiently endured affliction for many years, she died

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in the Lord, and was buried at *Coley*, March 21, 1675.

*Dinah Tetlow*, of *Norwood Green*. She was an eminently gracious woman, but exercised with many troubles, temptations and desertions. She went to rest, Nov. 25, 1683.

*Rose Watson*, of *Norwood Green*, died in the faith of Jesus, 1678.

*Mary Robison*, wife of *Richard Robison*, of the place last mentioned. She was a good woman, living and dying as a christian.

*Prudence Scot*, the wife of *James Scot*, of *Leebridge*, near *Halifax*, a pious christian. She partook of the Lord's Supper with us, Nov. 18, 1677, and died the day after.

*Mrs. Bagnal*, mother of *Mr. Sharp*, near *Bradford*. She died 1681, testifying of God's great kindness to her, while she had stood in relation to us.

*William Stanminley*, of *Stainland*, a good and honourable man; after having been pressed and tossed with many afflictions, he died comfortably, 1676.

*Mr. Richard Bentley*, a solid good christian, who kept his integrity to the last. He died of the palsy at *Halifax*. *Mr. Eli Bentley* was the son of this gentleman. He was born in *Sawenby*, and educated at *Cambridge*, where he was sometime

fellow of *Trinity college*. In *August 1652*, some time after Mr. *Heywood* removed to *Coley*, he became assistant to Mr. *Booth*, at *Halifax church*, and after Mr. *Booth's* death, continued alone till the fatal day of ejection, 1662. When the act came out which prohibited a silenced minister to live within five miles of the town where he had preached, he fled. In what place of exile he spent the following ten years of his life, or what difficulties and hardships he underwent, cannot now be gathered. When the indulgence was granted in 1672, he returned to *Halifax*. He was a man of good parts; a solid, serious preacher; very humble in his deportment; and rendered remarkably useful in his day. He lived desired, and, at length, died lamented, *July 30, 1675*. On a plain stone in the south chapel of *Halifax church*, is the following inscription: ‘*Eli Bentley; son of Richard Bentley, of Sowerby, A. M., sometime fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and late minister of the gospel at Halifax, departed this life, July 30, 1675, in the 45th year of his age.*’

Of all the families with whom Mr. *Heywood* was intimately connected, none perhaps deserves more particular notice, than that of Mr. *Sharp*, of *Little Horton*, near *Bradford*. Here he was always cordially



dially received, and kindly entertained. It appears from his diary, that when this family were visited with affliction, he was called upon to unite with them in humiliation and prayer, and to administer consolation to them. When they were favoured with any peculiar deliverance, or merciful dispensation of providence, he was invited to spend a day with them in thanksgiving.

*Heu pietas! Heu prisca fides!*

Mrs. Sharp, a very pious lady, was sister to Mr. David Clarkson, a celebrated divine; whose sermons, published after his death, by Mr. John Howe, and Mr. Matthew Mead, in a large folio volume, are still in great repute \*. As far as I can learn, she was a member of the society under the care of Mr. Heywood.

Mr. Sharp was a man of great worth and respectability, of an ancient family. He was a near relation of archbishop Sharp, who was born at Bradford.

Mr. Thomas Sharp, A. M. was the son of the above Mr. and Mrs. Sharp, who seeing his in-

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\* Mr. Clarkson had two daughters, both eminent for their piety and distinguished abilities, of whom an edifying account is given in that excellent Abstract of Lives, published by Mr. James, of Hitchin. Sold by Mr. Button, Paternoster-Row, London.

clination to learning, and early piety, devoted him to God in the work of the ministry, though he was their eldest son, and heir to a considerable estate. He was sent to *Cambridge* in 1649, and put under the tuition of his uncle, Mr. *Clarkson*, of *Clare Hall*, who, when he left the university, committed him to the care of Mr. (afterwards archbishop) *Tillotson*. Mr. *Sharp* being possessed of excellent natural abilities, enjoying great advantages, and being very studious, became an universal scholar.

He entered on his public work at *Peterborough*, but removed into his own neighbourhood about the year 1660. His uncle, Mr. *William Clarkson*, minister of *Addle*, dying, he was presented by the patron, Mr. *Arthington*, to that living. He enjoyed it however but a very little while; for on the restoration of *Charles the Second*, Dr. *Hich*, of *Guisley* laid claim to it. Mr. *Arthington* was disposed to contest his right of presentation by course of law, but Mr. *Sharp* was willing to resign, and the rather, as he foresaw a storm coming. It would have been an easy matter for a man of his abilities and connections to have obtained other preferment, had it not been for the act of uniformity, which unhappily imposed silence on so many excellent preachers.

Mr. *Sharp* afterwards lived in his father's house

at



at *Little Horton*, and followed his studies very closely. In 1672, a room was licensed, as a place appropriated to the worship of God,\* and during the short interval of indulgence granted to dissenters by the king, Mr. Sharp preached here to great numbers, who flocked from all quarters to hear him. He excelled in the gift of prayer. The seriousness, fervour, copiousness and propriety of his addresses to God, in his public exercises, moved and captivated the hearts of all present. They were ready to say of the house where they were assembled, “Surely the Lord is in this place, and we knew it not. How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven!” †

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Mr.

\* Dr. Calamy says it was his *own house*, but whether the ancient mansion, or another house in the vicinity of that, I am not absolutely certain, nor is it of great importance.

+ A learned author in *Lancashire*, in an address to the inhabitants of that county, on a particular occasion, has the following remarkable words :

‘The *Bartholomew* divines, or the ministers ejected in the year 1662, were men prepared to lose all, and to suffer martyrdom rather than desert the cause of civil and religious liberty. They were men of great devotion, and of eminent abilities in prayer, which, in social worship, they offered up from the abundance of their hearts and affections; men of divine eloquence in pleading at the throne of grace; raising and melt-

ing



Mr. Sharp was a fluent, animated, and ready speaker; yet his sermons were elaborate and accurate, the result of deep study, but, at the same time, like those of the late president Edwards of New England, happily adapted to the capacities of a common audience. He was in all respects a very great man, yet notwithstanding his shining abilities, natural and acquired, he was clothed with humility, the most lovely garb of a christian minister. He was very laborious in his work, while the free exer-

ing the affections of their hearers, and being happily instrumental in transfusing into their souls the same spirit and heavenly gift. And this was the ground of all their other qualifications; they were excellent men, because excellent, instant, and fervent in prayer. Those who knew them not might despise them, but your forefathers, wiser and less prejudiced, esteemed them highly in love for their works' sake. You were once happy in your Heywoods, your New-combes, your Jollies, &c. &c. who left all to follow Christ.

But Providence cared for them, and they had great comfort in their ministerial services. The presence and blessing of God appeared in their assemblies, and attended their labours. How many were converted and built up in godliness and sobriety, by their prayers, pains, doctrines and conversations! How many days, on particular occasions, were set apart, and spent in warm addresses to the throne of grace, and how much to the comfort of those who joined with them!—Let my soul for ever be with the souls of these men!

Dr. Taylor's Scripture Account of Prayer.

exercise of his talents was permitted by the powers then existing. He was eminent for self-denial, exceedingly temperate, and mortified to all earthly enjoyments, and of a peaceable and catholic spirit.

When the licences were recalled, he, for some time, preached at *Morley*, and after Mr. *Stretton's* removal to *London*, he succeeded him in the charge of the congregation at *Leeds*, where he made a most comfortable exit, Aug. 27, 1693, in the 59th year of his age. He published a work called *Verses on Sleep*, printed under the name of *Cleveland*; and, *Divine Comforts, antidoting inward Perplexities*. Besides these, he left several tracts and poems in manuscript. He and his younger brother, who excelled in a different capacity, will long be remembered in these parts. Of this latter gentleman I shall attempt to give a more circumstantial account.

Mr. *Abraham Sharp*, from his early youth, discovered a strong propensity to the study of the noble science of astronomy. What is commonly called judicial astrology he despised. He thought it ridiculous to expect that the fate of empires, of states, or of individuals, should be indicated by the different aspects of the stars, or the various conjunctions and oppositions of the planets; as if those masses of unintelligent matter, which are uncon-



scious of their own existence, should be capable of directing future events. Mr. Sharp studied the celestial bodies with more rational and more elevated views. Their multitude, their amazing magnitude, and their vast distance from the earth, and from one another, employed his inquiries. He considered them as disposed in such order as to be delightful and serviceable to man; to adorn his abode, and to measure his time. He contemplated the grand principles which actuate the planetary system, projection and attraction; the one as the combining cement, the other as the operative spring of the mighty frame. He considered these two principles as exerting themselves in perpetual concert, under the immediate agency of the Almighty, so as to answer all the great ends of his gracious providence, and to afford every suitable and desirable convenience for universal nature. This is a study to which the divine word seems in several places to direct us, a study which perhaps above all others is calculated to enlarge the soul, and to elevate and ennable its conceptions; to give the grandest apprehensions of the omnipotent Creator, to confirm our faith in the promises of his grace, and to furnish our minds with the strongest incentives to admiration, gratitude and reverence.

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“The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.” There is a magnificence, a beauty, and a harmony in them which will strike the mind with awe, with astonishment and delight, in proportion to the degree of attention with which they are regarded. Every production of infinite wisdom and almighty power is excellent and perfect in its kind, adapted to its proper place, and fitted for its intended use. To contemplate these, and to *search them out*, with humility and diligence, with faith and devotion, must be a pleasing employ. To a person of extensive comprehension of mind, and of unwearied and persevering application, the gate of true science will undoubtedly be opened; he shall understand the mysteries of creation, of providence, and of redemption, and be enabled to discover the hidden treasures of eternal wisdom. Such were the business and the happiness of this extraordinary man’s whole life, a life protracted to the unusual length of more than ninety years.

The bent of his mind towards mathematical studies, philosophical researches, and particularly astronomy, was such, from his youth, that nothing could divert him from those pursuits.

When the Royal Observatory at Greenwich was built, about the year 1676, Mr. Sharp assisted the cele-

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celebrated Mr. *Flamsteed*, in contriving, adapting, and fitting up the astronomical apparatus with which it is so amply furnished.

He continued for some time in this situation, in conjunction with Mr. *Flamsteed*, making observations on the meridional zenith distances of the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the planets, with the times of the transits over the meridian; as likewise the diameters of the sun and moon, and their eclipses, with those of Jupiter's satellites, the variation of the compass, &c. &c. Mr. *Sharp* assisted Mr. *Flamsteed* in making a catalogue of near three thousand fixed stars, as to their longitudes and magnitudes, their right ascensions and polar distances.\*

But

\* \* It may seem unaccountable to an unlearned reader, that astronomers should speak such amazing things, and speak them with such an air of assurance, concerning the distances and magnitudes, the motions and relations of the heavenly bodies. I would desire such a person to consider the case of ECLIPSES, and with what exactness they are calculated. They are not only foretold, but the very instant of their beginning is determined. The precise time of their continuance is assigned; assigned almost to the nicety of a moment; and what is still more surprising, for the space of hundreds or thousands of years to come.— As this is a matter of fact, absolutely indisputable, it is also a very obvious, yet solid demonstration, that the principles of science, on which these calculations pro-

But from the fatigue of continually observing the stars at night, in a cold thin air, joined to a weakly constitution, he was reduced to a bad state of health; on which account he desired leave to retire to his house at *Horton*. It was probably about that period that our Mr. *Heywood* became acquainted with this extraordinary man, as I find among his papers frequent mention of the interviews he had with Mr. *Sharp* and his family. The conversation of two such men must have been peculiarly interesting,

As soon as this son of science found himself on the recovery, he erected an observatory of his own, and, by degrees, with unwearied assiduity, furnished it with an ample apparatus, constructed by his own hands. I hope my readers will bear with me if I detain them a little in attempting to describe, though but very imperfectly, some of the peculiarities of his character. I know the lovers of science will excuse this digression. It is true, I cannot boast of having had any personal knowledge of him, since he finished his race of glory when I was but a child. But from all the accounts I remember to have heard of him, I have always considered him as one

proceed, are not mere conjecture, or precarious supposition; but have a real, a certain foundation in the nature and constitution of things.\* *Hervey.*



of the most extraordinary men ever known in these parts. It appears that in him were happily united, the depths of erudition, with the elevations of sincere piety and devotion. I have often looked up on his observatory with a kind of enthusiastic veneration, which, though some may be disposed to censure, I own I am more willing to indulge than to repress.—In this situation Mr. *Sharp* spent many happy hours, contemplating the glory of the Creator, as manifested in his works; and breathing out the divine aspirations of the royal Psalmist, “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou hast ordained; what is man that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man that thou visitest him?”

Mr. *Sharp* was a most excellent mechanic, and the exercise he frequently took in that line contributed not a little to the promotion and establishment of his health, which otherwise must have been greatly injured by his recluse manner of life, and severe studies. He constructed a curious engine for turning all kinds of work in wood or brass, and could



could furnish himself by his own ingenuity with all sorts of mathematical instruments, constructed with the nicest accuracy. The telescopes he used were all of his own making, and the lenses ground, figured, and adjusted with his own hands.

The tables in the second volume of the *Historia Cœlestis* were, in a great measure, furnished by Mr. Sharp; and likewise the drawings of the charts of all the constellations visible in our hemisphere, with the still more excellent drawings of the planispheres, both of the northern and southern constellations. These drawings were sent to be engraved by a masterly hand at *Amsterdam*, but the originals are said to have far exceeded the engravings in point of beauty and elegance.

He possessed at once a remarkably clear head for contriving, and an extraordinary hand for executing any thing, not only in mechanics, but likewise in drawing, writing, and making the most exact and beautiful schemes or figures in all calculations and geometrical constructions. His elaborate treatise of *Geometry Improved*, quarto, is in high repute, as are also his other works.

Mr. Sharp kept up a constant correspondence with most of the eminent mathematicians and astronomers of his time, as Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Flamsteed, Dr. Halley, Dr. Wallis, Mr. Hodgson,



Mr. Shirwin, and others. His answers to the letters he received from them, are all written, in short-hand, on the backs, or empty spaces of the respective letters; so that both are carefully preserved. Many of these letters still remain in the hands of his surviving friends. Mr. Sharp spared neither time nor pains in order to promote what he looked upon to be beneficial to Society; and as he was allowed to be one of the most accurate and indefatigable computers that ever existed, he was for many years the common resource for the learned men of that age, in all sorts of troublesome and delicate calculations.

Mr. Sharp continued all his life a bachelor, and excepting the hours of christian conversation, and social worship, spent his time as recluse as a hermit. He was a steady and honourable member of a society of protestant dissenters at Bradford.\*

Mr. Sharp was a strict observer of the Lord's day, being constant, regular and serious in his attendance on the ordinances of public worship. His charity to the poor was very extensive. I have often heard it remarked, that the road from his

house

\* The old dissenting chapel at Bradford was erected, as I am informed, in 1717. Before this period, the people of that persuasion, assembled for divine worship at Little Horton, and at a place not far from Wibsey.

house to the place of worship was frequented by his indigent neighbours, to whom he constantly distributed money in a very peculiar way, perhaps with an eye to the admonition of our divine Redeemer, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Mr. Sharp took care to have his pockets filled with plenty of halfpence, which he suffered to be taken out of his hand, held behind him during his walk to the chapel, without his ever looking back, or asking a single question. His disposition was remarkably humane, benevolent and kind, and his ample paternal inheritance furnished him with the means of doing much good. "He delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him; and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."

In his retirement at *Little Horton*, he employed four or five rooms or apartments in his house, for different purposes, into which none of his family could possibly enter at any time, without his permission. His house was always open to receive Mr. Heywood, as long as he was able to travel; but Mr. Sharp survived his aged friend about forty years. After Mr. Heywood's death, he was seldom visited by any, except two gentlemen from

*Bradford*, the one a mathematician, and the other an ingenious apothecary, probably both of pious character. These gentlemen were admitted, when he chose to be seen by them, by the signal of rubbing a stone against a certain part of the outside wall of the house.

He was very irregular as to his meals, and remarkably sparing in his diet, which he frequently took in the following manner. A little square hole, something like a window, made a communication between the room where he usually studied, and another chamber in the house where a servant could enter; and before this hole he had contrived a sliding board: the servant always placed his viands in this hole, without speaking a word, or making the least noise; and when he had a little leisure, he visited his cupboard, to see what it contained to satisfy his hunger or thirst. But it often happened, that the breakfast, the dinner, and the supper remained untouched by him, when the servant went to remove what was left. So deeply was he sometimes engaged in his calculations and solemn musings. I have heard it related, that, at one time, after his provisions had been neglected for a long season, his family, being uneasy, resolved to break in upon his retirement; he complained, but with great mildness, that they had dis-

con-



concerted his thoughts, in a chain of calculations which had cost him intense application for three days successively.\*—On an old oak table, where, for a long course of years, he used to write, cavities might easily be perceived, worn by the perpetual rubbing of his arms and elbows.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, designed by Providence, not for general imitation, but to exhibit the highest degree of excellence in that line for which he was so eminently qualified, and to which his genius and inclination led him.

He was of a middle stature, but very thin, and of a weakly constitution. He was remarkably feeble

## O. 3

for

\* This may probably bring to the remembrance of some readers, what is recorded of the great Sir *Isaac Newton*, the glory and boast of our nation. His temper, it is said, was so equal and mild, that no accident could disturb it. A remarkable instance of which is related as follows. Sir *Isaac* had a favourite little dog, which he called *Diamond*. Being one evening called out of his study into the next room, *Diamond* was left behind. When Sir *Isaac* returned, having been absent but a few minutes, he had the mortification to find, that *Diamond* having overset a lighted candle among some papers, the nearly-finished labour of many years was in flames, and almost consumed to ashes. This loss, as Sir *Isaac* was then very far advanced in years, was irretrievable; yet, without once striking the dog, he only rebuked him, with this exclamation, ‘Oh *Diamond!* *Diamond!* you little know the mischief you have done.’—*He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city.*



for three or four years before his death, which event took place on the 18th of July, 1742, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was interred with great solemnity at *Bradford*; a funeral oration being pronounced on the occasion, in which were recited some of the principal transactions of his life.

The faith of christians stands not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Yet to the honour of our holy profession let it be observed, that some of the wisest, the most studious, inquisitive and learned; some of the greatest geniuses that ever existed have been firm believers of the truth as it is in Jesus, and steady adherents to the christian cause. Of these, *Boyle*, *Newton*, and *Sharp* may perhaps be reckoned as three of the most distinguished, though the catalogue might be greatly enlarged.\*

In the chancel of *Bradford* church, an elegant monument is erected to the memory of Mr. *Sharp*, with the following classical inscription:

H.

\* I have spared no pains to render the above narrative as correct as possible. If I have failed in this respect, I shall be obliged to any friend for a hint of information, and shall be ready, as far as I am able, to rectify every inaccuracy. Some of the principal circumstances are related on the credit of Dr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Flamsteed*, Dr. *Hutton*, F. R. S. and many others of distinguished reputation, both in the neighbourhood of *Horton*, and elsewhere.

## H. S. E.

Quod mortale fuit ABRAHAMI SHARP,

Stirpe antiquâ prognati,

Et Archiepiscopo ejus nominis Eboracensi

Sanguinis vinculo conjuncti;

Qui inter peritissimos sui temporis mathematicos  
merito numeratus,

Cum viris eâdem laude celeberrimis,

FLAMSTEEDIO præsertim et illustrissimo NEWTONO

Perpetuam coluit amicitiam,

Quorum prioris *Historiam Cœlestem*

In tabulis accuratissime delineavit;

Varia item scripta, et instrumenta a se confecta,

Suppresso tamen nomine, in lucem emisit:

Cum vitam autem hisce studiis placidam et utilem  
cœlebs peregerat,

In Deum pietate, in pauperes benignitate,

In omnes benevolentâ insignis,

Anno demum ætatis nonagesimo primo,

Rerum humanarum satur, in cœlum demigravit,

XV. KALEND. AUGUSTI MDCCXLII.

FRANCISCA SAWREY, proneptis testamentique  
curatrix hoc monumentum, honoris causâ, sumptu  
suo posuit.

TRANS.

## TRANSLATION.

Here lie interred

The Remains of ABRAHAM SHARP,  
Descended from a very respectable Line of Ancestors,  
And nearly related to the Archbishop of York

of that Name;

He was justly esteemed

One of the first Mathematicians of the Age,  
And enjoyed the uninterrupted Friendship  
Of the most celebrated Characters in that Profession,  
Especially FLAMSTEED, and the great NEWTON,

The former of whom he furnished

With a Set of most accurate Drawings

For the *Historia Cœlestis*:

His Writings also on various Subjects,  
And several Instruments of his own Construction,

Have appeared in the World,

Though Modesty withheld his Name.

After a tranquil and useful Life,

Passed in a State of Celibacy,

And devoted to these Pursuits,

Distinguished by his sincere Piety,

Liberality to the Poor,

And universal Benevolence,

He quitted the World with Resignation,

And entered the Regions of Bliss.

On the 18th of July, 1742,

In the 91st Year of his Age.

In Memory of her Great Uncle, FRANCES  
SAWREY his Executrix erected this Monument.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Mr. Heywood's later Publications. His peaceful and comfortable End.*

**E**LIHU, one of the friends of *Job*, tells us, that “days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom.” The excellent man who is the subject of these memoirs, laboured much, towards the latter part of his life, to promote religion and piety by his useful writings. When his bodily infirmities rendered him less capable of travelling abroad to preach the gospel, he redoubled his diligence as an author; and, in this respect, followed the example of the apostle *Peter*, adopting the benevolent resolution indicated in these expressive words; “I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance; knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me: I will endeavour that ye may be able, after my decease, to have these things always in remembrance.”

It is a happiness when men, and especially ministers, continue to maintain their zeal for the Redeemer, for the advancement of his cause, and for

for the welfare of posterity, as their end approaches; and when they use their best endeavours that others may experience that felicity which they themselves have enjoyed in some degree, in the knowledge and service of the true God, and of his Son Jesus Christ. That this was the case with this worthy man, will appear from what we have yet to add concerning him. It is evident from his later publications, that as he drew nearer to the close of his life, he made it his more particular business and study, to cultivate acquaintance with that celestial country, which was the ultimate object of his hopes, and to which the several steps of his pilgrimage tended.

In an address to his dear people, when near the end of his race, he proposed the following inquiries:

‘Are you begotten again to a lively hope of that inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and fadeth not away?’ This hope is not natural to men. Till they become acquainted with Jesus Christ, and are renewed by his grace, they live without hope in the world. The washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, only can produce in the heart of a sinner, a solid, substantial, well-grounded hope of heaven. “Hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed

shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost given unto us." This hope hath the complete work of Christ for its foundation, the divine promise for its support, and the everlasting enjoyment of God for its object.

"What do your thoughts dwell most upon; the things which are seen, or those which are not seen? You know who has told you, that "where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also." On what are your morning and evening thoughts employed? What portion of your time do you purposely set apart for meditation on eternity? What occasional thoughts have you on this most solemn and interesting of all subjects? That eminent minister of God, Mr. *Ward*, after having been silent in company a considerable time, and being asked the reason, signified, that the powers of his mind had been sweetly and solemnly absorbed with the thought of an everlasting state of happiness. "O my friends," said he, with an energy which surprized all present, "consider what it is to be for ever with the Lord; for ever, for ever, for ever!"

"Are you willing to suffer affliction, and to endure hardships in the prospect of future felicity? The *Hebrews* took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing in themselves, that they had in heaven a better, and an enduring substance. The

assured

assured hope of an everlasting inheritance above; induced them cheerfully to part with all below, for Christ's sake.

' Do you converse much together concerning the promised inheritance and a meetness for it? The subject which has full possession of our thoughts, will frequently employ our tongues. Anatomists tell us of certain ligaments by which the heart and the tongue are united in the human frame; and it is well known, that "out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh." He that is of the earth speaketh of the earth, that is, his talk is generally about earthly things; but if the temper of a man's mind be heavenly, he must have an inclination and an aptitude to converse about heavenly objects. The line of distinction between the citizens of *Zion*, and the citizens of the world, is thus drawn by a skilful hand, " They mind earthly things, but our conversation is in heaven." Speech is both the index and the interpreter of the mind. Hence, they who are looking for a city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God, love to be talking about the object of their hopes. And they give thanks to the Father, who hath made them meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light. On proper occasions they are ready to say, " Come and hear all ye that fear

fear God, and we will tell you what he hath done for our souls."

• What is the object of your desires, your wishes and your prayers? The language of gracious and heaven-born souls is fully expressed in the sacred scriptures. "There be many that say, Who will shew us any good? But, Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." As if it had been said, 'Lord, our wishes centre in thee; it is thyself alone whom we have chosen, as our portion, our heritage for ever, and our exceeding great reward. Day and night we long for thee. The desire of our souls is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With our spirits within us we will seek thee early. Our souls are athirst for God, the living God, as the hart panteth for the water-brooks. Oh when shall we come and appear before God! The world to us is an insignificant cypher. Whom have we in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that we desire besides thee, or in comparison of thee! Not only this world, but even that which is to come, heaven itself would be unsatisfactory and comfortless without the presence of our Redeemer, the God of our salvation.'

• Doth this hope of heaven purify your hearts? Doth it excite you to cleanse your hands, to mor-

tify your corrupt affections, and to keep at a distance from all the occasions of sin? "It doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is. And he that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure." You need not then be ashamed of the name of puritans, which some are pleased to give you, as a term of reproach. Our gracious Redeemer hath said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." It is he who hath the key of *David*, who openeth and no man shutteth, and who shutteth and no man openeth, and he assures you, that there shall in no wise enter into the celestial city any thing that defileth. Do you then follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord? None shall stand in his holy place but he that hath clean hands and a pure heart. You are conscious, no doubt, of much remaining impurity in your present state; but I trust you abhor it, and you even abhor yourselves on account of it; you bewail it, and complain of it before God, while it is your constant aim, study and endeavour, to cleanse yourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God.

"Let me ask you once more—Are your souls truly



in earnest after the possession of the heavenly prize? Study the certainty, the excellency, the glory of what you have in view, till your hearts are ravished with the prospect. Set your affection on things above, not on things below, if indeed you are risen with Christ. Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. In the presence of your Redeemer is fulness of joy, and at his right hand are pleasures for evermore. Surely he who lives in expectation of being very soon put into the possession of all this, will not be slothful, formal, dull and negligent. Surely he will run with eagerness and steady perseverance the race set before him; he will fight the good fight of faith, with fortitude and manly resolution, that he may lay hold on eternal life. Forgetting the things behind, and reaching forth to the things before, he will press towards the mark for the prize of his high calling. He will gird up the loins of his mind, be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto him at the revelation of Jesus Christ.'

In 1693, Mr. Heywood published a small tract, entitled, '*The best Entail; being a Discourse on*

2 Sam. xxiii. 5.' It is dedicated to the Right Honourable *Philip Lord Wharton.*

The same year another treatise of his appeared, to which he gave the name of *The Family Altar, erected to the Honour of the Eternal God.* The design of it is to promote the worship of God in private houses. A commendatory preface is prefixed to it by two eminent ministers, Mr. *Hawe,* and Mr. *Starkey.*

Though Mr. *Heywood* now laboured under many of those infirmities which are frequently the companions of old age, we find him still assiduously improving his hours of retirement for the benefit of society. In a manuscript of his sent to Mrs. *Stansfield*, of *Sowerby*, he says, 'I have now been above fifty years labouring in the Lord's vineyard, studying, praying and preaching, both at home and abroad, wherever Providence called me. I have reached nearly two years beyond the age of man, and am, as may be supposed, incapacitated for travelling. A very sore asthma, or difficulty of breathing, adds considerably to the weight of my other infirmities, so that I am mostly confined to my own house, and only can study, preach in my chapel, and exercise myself in writing books and sermons for those that desire them.'

In 1695, he sent into the world his discourse on  
the

the *New Creation*, opening the Nature, Properties and Necessity of that great Work on the Souls of Men. In a prefixed epistle to his dear friends, and beloved hearers at *Northowram*, he says, ‘God knows, and you know, from the first day that I came amongst you, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons. My tears, temptations, banishment, imprisonment, confiscations, night-travels and preachings, fastings, watchings, encouragements and discouragements, many of you can remember, and how I have, to use the apostle’s words, travailed in birth with you, till Christ were formed in you.’

A few years before this useful book appeared in print, Mr. Heywood published *Baptismal Bonds renewed*, being some meditations on Psalm l. 5.

The work entitled, *Life in God’s Favour*, was published, as is intimated in the beginning of it, in death-threatening times. The present times are times of discouragement, difficulty and trial, and it is hoped the serious perusal of the new edition of this book, will, through a divine blessing, be attended with peculiar advantage. The subject indeed on which it treats can never be out of season. “Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble,” and it must at all times be highly interesting to know, wherein the true felicity of

our rational nature consists. The favour of God alone can make us happy, either in this world, or in that which is to come.

In 1698, he published, ‘*The General Assembly*, or a Discourse on the Gathering of all the Saints to Christ.’ In his address to the reader, he says,— ‘Oh what an happy, honourable, triumphant assembly will that be! The realizing views I have lately had of it have extorted from me these meditations, which have been very delightful to myself, and I shall pray that they may be profitable to the reader. May we land safe in that blessed haven, where so many of our godly friends and relations are arrived, that we may rejoice in God’s salvation, and sing together the song of Moses, and the Lamb for evermore!’

In this tract, which is but small, the object of our hopes in a future world is considered as a state of blessed society. The saints in light are represented as sharing together the same felicity and honour. We know, by experience, that without society we cannot be happy. Such is the nature of man, that were he placed in a paradise, surrounded with every pleasure, yet if he found himself a solitary individual there, something would still be wanting. The felicity enjoyed by good men upon earth is of a social nature; their “hearts are comforted,

forted, being knit together in love.—Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!” In the sacred scriptures, their happiness is then compared to the fragrancy of the richest odours, and to the reviving influence of soft etherial dews. “ It is like the precious ointment poured on the head of *Aaron*,; and like the dew of *Herman*, even the dew that descended on the mountains of *Zion*, where the Lord commanded his blessing, even life for evermore.”

The pleasure of earthly society, though but very imperfect, may give us some faint conception of the joy that must arise from the society of perfect spirits in heaven; where all the wise and the holy who have existed in the universe, from the commencement of time, will be assembled together, without any source of disagreement to disturb their harmony, or any painful sensation to interrupt their mutual bliss. There we shall join the innumerable company of angels, and the general assembly and church of the first-born; there, separated from the sons of violence and wickedness among whom we now dwell, we shall sit down with *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, in the kingdom of heaven, mingling with all those illustrious servants of the Most High, whose names we now pronounce with veneration, and whose

steps we are commanded to follow.—These sublime prospects Mr. Heywood endeavours to lay open to the view of his readers.

Towards the close of this work, he expresses himself to the following purpose : \*

\* The children of God, who have lived in different ages, shall, at that happy period of which we speak, be assembled together, and without doubt, have that knowledge of one another which will be productive of mutual satisfaction and delight. If *Socrates* comforted himself with the hope, that on quitting this earthly stage, he should be the companion of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, of *Palamedes* and *Ajax*, how much more may the christian rejoice in the prospect of being introduced into the society of the best and the holiest men that ever existed since the world began !

\* I shall then,' may he say to himself, \* hold familiar converse with the first man and his wife; with *Enoch*, who walked with God, and was translated that he should not see death; with *Noah*, the father and founder of a new world, who was an upright man, and perfect in his generation; with *Abraham*, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God. I shall there see righteous *Lot*, whose soul was once vexed with the filthy conversation of Sodomites, and *Job*, who had the

\* In these extracts some antiquated phrases are a little altered, but the sense of the author is preserved.

the wicked; *Jacob*, who as a prince had power with God, and prevailed; *Joseph*, more glorious than when he shone in all the splendor of the *Egyptian* court; *Moses*, the meekest of all men, the *Jewish* lawgiver, who, while on earth conversed with God face to face. I shall be with *Aaron*, the saint of the Lord; with *Job*, renowned for his patience in tribulation; with *Joshah*, eminent for his early piety, and his zeal for the pure worship of God; with *David*, the man after God's own heart; with *Isaiah*, the enraptured prophet, who saw the Redeemer's glory and spake of him, eight hundred years before he made his appearance upon earth; and with *Paul*, the great apostle of the Gentiles, who was determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ, and him crucified; who established christianity through the different parts of the known world, and from *Jerusalem* round about unto *Illyricum* fully preached the gospel of Christ. In a word, I shall behold all the triumphant throng of prophets, apostles, ministers, martyrs, and confessors, with the great multitude which no man can number, standing before the throne of God and of the Lamb, clothed in white robes, with palms in their hands.\*

\* Those

\* \* Our knowledge of a future world is very imperfect; our ideas of it are faint and confused. It is not dis-



‘ Those who have had sweet fellowship together in the same christian society upon earth, shall have sweeter communion in heaven. Those who have received the word of life from the mouth of the same minister, who have held communion together at the Lord’s table, who have united in fasting and prayer, in thanksgiving and holy conference,

displayed in such a manner, as to make an impression suited to the importance of the object. The faith even of the best men is much inferior, both in clearness and in force, to the evidence of sense; and proves, on many occasions, insufficient to counterbalance the temptations of the present world. Happy moments indeed there sometimes are in the lives of pious men, when, sequestered from worldly cares, and borne up on the wings of divine contemplation, they rise to a near and transporting view of immortal glory.—

‘ Let us then walk by faith. Let us strengthen this principle of action to the utmost of our power. Let us implore the divine grace to strengthen it in us more and more; that we may thence derive an antidote to that subtle poison, which incessant commerce with the objects of sense diffuses through our souls; that we may hence acquire purity and dignity of manners, suited to our divine hopes; and, undefiled by the pleasures of the world, unshaken by its terrors, may preserve to the end, one constant tenor of integrity. Till at last, having, under the conduct of christian faith, happily finished the period of discipline, we enter on that state, where a far nobler scene will open; where eternal objects shall shine in their native splendor; where, this twilight of mortal life being past, the sun of righteousness will arise; and that which is perfect being come, that which is in part shall be done away.’ —Dr. Blair.

ference, will now be gathered together in the general assembly, the church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven. And O, with what transports of delight will they recount the labours, the difficulties, the trials and the comforts of their pilgrimage on earth! They will converse together in a language peculiar to the inhabitants of heaven, concerning their former fears and faintings, their sufferings and supports, their dangers and deliverances, the days of darkness and sorrow, of consolation, light and joy, which they experienced on earth, in their way to the kingdom. They will admire the conduct of infinite wisdom, and the displays of unbounded and everlasting love, through every part of that mysterious way in which the Lord their God hath led them. ‘Now,’ will they say to one another, ‘our God is our everlasting light, and our days of mourning are ended. He has led us forth by a right way, that we might come to this city of habitation. He fed us with manna in the wilderness, but now we are come to the land of promise; we are feasted with royal dainties, we drink of the river of pleasures, and bathe our souls in the boundless ocean of satisfying and everlasting delights.’

‘Those who parted sorrowfully with their pious relations by death, will now meet them again, to

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part no more. They will welcome one another to the regions of immortality and unfading joy. 'On earth,' they will say, 'we lived in harmony and love, but the happiness we then enjoyed, was but a shadow of what we now possess. We were enabled to live as heirs together of the grace of life, but now we are advanced to the summit of celestial glory. We prayed, we wept, we discoursed together; we loved one another in the flesh, but now our affection is refined and exalted to full perfection. Our mutual prayers are all answered, our felicity is complete, in the everlasting enjoyment of God, and of one another. The parting stroke was a painful one; but we are happily united again, where there is no more death, and where the fear of separation can have no place.'

'This assembly will consist of persons fully refined from all the dregs of impurity, and of disorderly passions, who will then hold communion together without such allays. Our present intercourse is often spoiled by the base mixture of pride, vanity, folly and carnality, with that which is of a more spiritual nature. Our discourse together is often trifling, impertinent and unsavoury. We are apt to give and to take offence. Discords and dissentions sometimes take place among wife and good men. Even *Paul* and *Barnabas* may here part.

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part, as not quite satisfied with each other. But in the celestial society, imperfection will not be known. Discord will have no place; offence will never be given; resentment will never rise. There will be no remains of ignorance, of haughtiness, or of self-willedness. No jarring string will interrupt the melody of heaven. *Calvin* and *Luther*, *Melancthon* and *Zuinglius*, conformists and nonconformists will then entirely accord; they will all speak the same thing, and be perfectly joined together, of the same mind, and of the same judgment.

‘The ministers of Jesus, and the souls who were on earth their care and charge, will be again united in this assembly. Then both he that sowed and they that reaped will rejoice together.\* May we not suppose, that one and another of that blessed society will say, ‘There is my spiritual father! I once sat under his ministry with trembling, when my conscience was seized with conviction, while, as a son of thunder, he set forth the awful terrors

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\* I beg leave here to recite a remark once made in conversation by the late Mr. *Venn*, which, because consonant to my own feelings, I shall never forget. ‘I have been,’ said he, ‘in the course of my pilgrimage, greatly assisted and much edified by the writings of good men who are now in glory; and the prospect of seeing them there, and of telling them how I have profited by their labours, gives me inexpressible pleasure.’



of that holy law which I had broken. But the same hand closed the wounds which I felt, by applying the precious promises of the gospel, and directing me to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. How many melting and heart-searching discourses have I heard from his lips! Blessed be God, that ever I saw his face, or heard his voice!

‘The minister, with transports of surprize and joy, will there see his spiritual children, whom he had been the happy instrument of turning from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; over whom he shed many tears, and in whose behalf he offered up many affectionate prayers and supplications. He will now know that his labour was not in vain in the Lord.’ The apostle *Paul* had an eye to this, when he thus wrote to the *Theffalonians*: “For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.”

‘Those who have been scattered by persecution will now meet again to be parted no more. They will now look on the difficulties they formerly experienced on earth, in attending to the worship of God; their solemn assemblies broken up by bailiffs and other officers, their names taken down, their

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persons brought before magistrates, their houses rifled, and their families distressed. But they shall now no more hear the voice of the oppressor. The storm is blown over, the clouds are scattered, the sons of violence shall no more disturb the peace of the church; for the former things are done away.

‘ They who have been confined in prisons, jails and dungeons for the sake of Christ and the gospel, will now find themselves at perfect liberty. It is true, their prisons were sometimes turned into palaces, by the gracious presence of their Redeemer with them there; and, like *Paul* and *Silas*, they have not only prayed, but sung praises to God in their gloomy cells. But the case with them now will be greatly altered. Instead of dark and noisome dungeons, they will dwell in houses not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, in mansions prepared by unbounded munificence; and, enjoying the glorious liberty of the children of God, they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat: for the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. Instead of being numbered with transgressors, and confined with felons and malefactors, they shall walk with God, high in salvation and the

climes of bliss ; having the angels of light, and the spirits of just men made perfect for their companions, in glory everlasting. It shall be said of them, " These are they that came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb ; therefore are they before the throne of God."

' This assembly will be inconceivably numerous. It will consist of a " great multitude which no man can number of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. They shall come from the east, and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." No situation is so remote as to preclude access to this society. A new and living way is opened into the holiest of all, through the veil of the Redeemer's flesh, for the inhabitants of the most distant corners of the earth. Jesus shall see his seed ; he shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. The Captain of our salvation will bring many sons to glory ; for the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. Men of all ranks and degrees, from the populous city, and from the solitary desert, shall be blessed in him. All nations shall call him blessed. The triumphs of his victorious grace will most certainly correspond with the greatness of his power. The city of the living God already abounds with

with inhabitants, and innumerable multitudes more shall still be added unto it, through every succeeding period of time. The fulness of the *Gentiles* shall come in; God's ancient people of *Israel* shall be saved with an everlasting salvation, and the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ. How animating, how transporting is the prospect!

' This blessed assembly will never break up, but continue through everlasting ages. In this world their communion was subject to great interruption. They met and parted again; but now they shall meet to part no more. Their different occupations in the world required them to live asunder, and duties of various kinds called for their attendance; but now they shall serve God day and night in his temple. They shall be ever with the Lord, and, consequently, ever with one another. Eternity of duration will give emphasis to all their felicity.

' But after all that can be said of the pleasures arising from society in a future world, it is necessary to observe, before we dismiss the subject, that it is the presence of the Lord of glory which makes this society so delightful, and which constitutes the felicity of the heavenly state. The Lord himself shall dwell among the heirs of glory, he shall be their God, in whose presence there is fulness



of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore.'

In 1681, Mr. Heywood published a work entitled *Israel's Lamentation*.

In 1685, Mr. Angier's *Life*.

In 1690, *Meetness for Heaven*.

In 1695, *Job's Appeal*.

In 1697, *Heavenly Converse*.

Mr. Heywood likewise communicated to Dr. Calamy historical accounts of those who suffered for their nonconformity, in *Lancashire* and *Yorkshire*. As he was personally acquainted with most of them, and was a man who would strictly adhere to truth in what he recorded, he was certainly a very proper person to be employed on this occasion.

In 1701, he published his *Treatise on Christ's Intercession*; in the preface to which he says, ' Providence hath brought me into a declining condition, and my infirmities are such as render me incapable of travelling abroad, or even among my neighbours; so that I cannot personally converse with my hearers; yet my heart is much carried out towards them, and towards God for them, having laboured among them in public and private above fifty years.'

About the same period there appeared from under

der his hand, a small work entitled, *The Two Worlds, present and future, visible and invisible.* It is dedicated to his relations in *Lancashire* ;\* to whom he says, ‘The providence of God hath separated me now forty-nine years from my native county, and from the vicinity of my kindred in the flesh. My lot hath been cast among a loving and beloved people, where I have laboured long, and not without some good success. Yet my mind has not been alienated from my dear kindred in the flesh ; I have prayed daily for you, frequently visited you, preached among you publicly and privately, written letters to you, sent you my printed books, and thought no labour too much in order to be useful to your souls. I am now super-

annuated,

\* The neighbourhood of *Bolton*, where Mr. Heywood was born, and where his relations lived, has been famous in former years, on account of its containing many families eminent for their faith and piety. At the very first dawn of the reformation, the day-spring from on high visited the town of *Bolton* and the adjacent villages ; and, by the letters of those glorious martyrs, Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Geo. Marsh*, which are yet preserved, it appears, that a considerable number of families and of individuals, at the period when these letters were written, held fast the truth in its purity and simplicity. The favour of the knowledge of Christ is still spread abroad among the present inhabitants, and received by many. May the number of the true disciples of Jesus increase daily, in that town as well as in other places !

annuated, and not in a capacity for travelling into your parts. I have out-lived my brothers and sisters, and am now drawing near the close of my pilgrimage. I did not expect to have sojourned so long in this weary world, having been exercised with many troubles, and four times been under the sentence of death, by violent fevers. How long my life may yet be continued, I cannot tell, but having written on the subject of a future world, I send this small production of my pen among you, which perhaps may be the last, as a testimony of my good will to you.

My heart's desire and prayer to God for you all is, that you may be saved. Many of our ancestors have died in the faith, and having finished their course upon earth with honour and joy, are gone to the regions of peace and happiness in heaven. But though you have had pious ancestors and godly relations, grace is not hereditary. Be concerned, that you may be partakers of the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, and become followers of them who through faith and patience do now inherit the promises.'

Mr. Heywood now lived in the full prospect of his everlasting home; looking, longing and waiting for his dismission. The exercises of his mind were somewhat like those of that truly gracious and holy

holy man, Mr. *George Hughes*, of *Plymouth*, of whom his biographer writes as follows: He used to say, ‘ All the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come; Oh when will it once come, that I shall put off this earthly tabernacle, and be clothed with my house from heaven! I desire to be dissolved, and to be at home with Christ. I thank God, I am not ashamed to live, nor afraid to die.’ To a near relation who asked him how he did, he answered, ‘ I never found my faith and hope more vigorous and lively than now.’ He continued his labours till within a few days of his death, preaching twice the Lord’s day before he left the world, and concluding the service with these remarkable words, ‘ Now all my work is done.’ The evening before he died, he ordered his watch to be laid by him, desiring a relation to observe when it was two o’clock, ‘ for,’ said he, ‘ that is my hour.’ And, accordingly, just at that hour he expired; in the year 1667, and in the 64th of his age.

Mr. *Heywood*, though full of infirmities, was, like him, enabled to be somewhat useful to the last; and, like him, he had an easy transition from the church militant to the church triumphant. He might have said before his departure, as a pious woman once did, in the prospect of her dissolution, ‘ My head is in heaven, my heart is in heaven; one step more, and I shall be there too.’

Old age is a burden to itself; yet it is that whereby the all-wise God thinks fit to wean many of his children from the world, and to render their eternal rest the more desirable.

After a fatiguing, troublesome and laborious life, this worthy man died in the Lord, *May the 4th, 1702*, in the seventy third year of his age. He finished his course without any sensible pain or sickness, in the full assurance of hope, and in great peace and tranquillity of mind. After having acted his part with integrity, faithfulness and honour, and by well-doing put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, he quitted the stage with joy, in expectation of the rest which remains for the people of God. Let succeeding ministers not only admire, but imitate his zeal for the honour of God, his love to the souls of men, his diligence and activity in his painful labours, his exemplary patience under great hardships and sufferings, his watchfulness against every thing that might cause the ways of God to be evil spoken of, and his steady care to adorn the doctrine of Christ, which he so dearly loved. He was tenderly concerned for the purity of God's worship, and a conscientious observer of the christian sabbath. He was a close student, a good scholar, a nervous, judicious and profitable preacher, as his printed works evidently

dently testify. The matter of his discourses was solid and searching; the dress neither negligent nor affected, but scriptural, grave and decent; such as well became the weighty subjects on which he treated.\* As the word of Christ dwelt richly in him, in all wisdom, he had a peculiar facility in selecting proper portions of it, as the ground of his discourses, suited to every occasion. He was very careful to divert the attention of his hearers from controversies in church and state, and to direct their views to the great concerns of their souls, and of a future world.

His

\* Dr. Manton having to preach before the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and the companies of the city of *London*, at *St. Paul's*, chose a subject in the management of which he had an opportunity of displaying his judgment and learning. He was heard with admiration and applause by the more intelligent part of the audience. But as he was returning from dinner with the lord-mayor, in the evening, a poor man, following him, pulled him by the sleeve of his gown, and asked him if he were the gentleman who preached in the morning at such a place. And when the doctor replied in the affirmative, the man said, 'Sir, I came there with hopes of getting some good to my soul; but I was greatly disappointed, for I could not understand a great deal of what you said; you were quite above me.' The doctor was much moved, and, with tears in his eyes, returned the following answer; 'My friend, if I did not give you a suitable sermon, you have given me one, and, by the grace of God, I will never play the fool again, to please'



His conversation was so circumspect and regular, that his adversaries could lay nothing to his charge but nonconformity. His supreme love to God was evidenced by his constant care to please him, and his chosen hours of communion with him every day, for a long succession of years, even to the closing period of his life. His fervent affection to the children of God, of every denomination, was the necessary attendant of his love to the supreme Being. And hence was his compassionate regard for the distressed, and his readiness to relieve them, according to his ability. He received many injuries from men of a persecuting spirit, but it was his care to imitate the amiable example of his suffering Saviour, who said, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." His steady trust in God was his support in all the straits to which he was reduced, and he could bear his testimony, that none who trust in him shall be ashamed.

Mr.

please the greatest or the politest audience in the world.' This anecdote is recorded by Dr. *William Harris*.

Dr. *Manton*, in the general strain of his discourses, did not entertain his hearers with impertinent subtleties, empty notions, or intricate disputes, but preached as one, who had always before his eyes the glory of God, and the salvation of men, both in respect to his matter and his expressions. He was a most laborious, unwearied and successful preacher. The above hint suggested by the poor man, probably did him good through the remaining part of his life.

Mr. Heywood, I am informed, was buried in the south chapel of *Halifax* church, but no stone, monument, or inscription can be found there, to perpetuate his memory.

HEYWOOD, a monument of grace,  
Was in his early youth  
Inclin'd to seek his Saviour's face,  
And taught the way of truth.

Call'd to dispense the sacred word,  
With shining gifts endow'd,  
He gave himself unto the Lord,  
Who had those gifts bestow'd.

Inspir'd with love for Jesus' name,  
And zealous in his cause,  
'Twas now his glory to proclaim  
Salvation by the cross.

His ardent soul rejoic'd to see  
Success attend the word ;  
Sinners, from Satan's chains set free,  
Were turned to the Lord.

But soon, alas ! a storm arose,  
The threat'ning billows roll ;  
Yet grace his spirit did compose,  
And strengthen'd all his soul.



When persecution's iron rod

Did rudely him oppress,

He found the ever living God,

A refuge in distress.

Compell'd to leave his house, he fled,

And sought himself to hide;

He knew not where to lay his head,

Yet did the Lord provide.

His family, forlorn and poor,

Obtain'd relief at last;

And he still found an open door

Where'er his lot was cast.

Patient, submissive, meek and mild,

He lean'd upon the Lord,

And humbly, as a weaned child,

Liv'd on his faithful word.

Ten years he mourn'd, as one restrain'd

From his belov'd employ;

But God at length his hands unchain'd,

And brought him forth with joy.

His talents, long eclips'd, now shone

With a diviner ray;

To make the great Redeemer known

He labour'd night and day.

And

And, though assai'd by troubles new,  
Yet still he perseveres,  
And tries opposers to subdue  
By fasting, pray'rs and tears.

Abhorring tumult, noise and strife,  
The good of all he sought ;  
And, holding forth the word of life,  
He practis'd what he taught.

The pious labours of his pen  
Were yearly multiply'd ;  
To save the souls of dying men  
He ev'ry method try'd.

His latter years were crown'd with peace ;  
He saw his labours blest ;  
He saw the infant church increase,  
And felt his heart at rest.

At length, in an advanced age,  
Call'd to the realms on high,  
He quitted life's tumultuous stage  
With honour, and with joy.

## CHAP. LX.

*Concluding Remarks.*

1. WE see, from the whole of this account, the faithfulness of God in his promises, the wisdom of his providence, and the energy of his grace, in protecting and supporting his persecuted people. While the sufferings of our forefathers were so great, their comforts were extensive, and their conversation was proportionably circumspect, holy, humble and heavenly. Though their persecutors meant not so, neither did their hearts think so, yet the people of God have generally found, by happy experience, that suffering times have been blessed times, with regard to the life, the vigour, and the consolations of religion. This is no inconsiderable part of the blessedness of those who are persecuted for righteousness sake. It is an observation which has been long verified by experience, that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church. And God's invariable love to his people will engage him to support them under all their trials, by vital communications of strength according to the day. When the seed of *Israel* were under the oppressive hand of *Pharaoh*, in *Egypt*, the Lord taught *Moses*, by a very significant vision,

that



that though they were in great affliction, he was in the midst of them to preserve them. The Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and behold the bush burned with fire; and the bush was not consumed.

2. We see the power of religion to sustain the mind under the heaviest trials. The celebrated *Bourdaloue*, in his discourse on *The Faith that conquers the World*, speaks to the following purpose:

' To endure persecution in a proper manner, is one of the most difficult things in the world. A persecuted christian groans under his bondage, and a fund of wisdom, equity, and rectitude, in his soul, makes him a hundred times desire to shake off the yoke, and to free himself from such tyranny; but his courage fails, and when he would execute his design, all his resolution is fled. Now what can determine, confirm, and render him superior to the fiery trial? Religion alone. With the arms of faith he wards off every blow, he resists all attacks, he is invincible. He contemns all the threatenings of his persecutors.. He sacrifices his earthly hopes, his interest, his temporal advantage, to God and his duty.

' Such are the dispositions of a man animated with the spirit of christianity, and supported by the faith which he professes. Thus he thinks, and

thus he acts. The reason is, being a christian, he acknowledgeth, properly speaking, no other master but God; or, acknowledging other powers, he considers them only as subordinate to the Almighty, rightly elevating Him above all without exception.

• How many inferior people and domestics have there been, whom no authority could corrupt, nor divert from the path of rectitude? What torments have millions of martyrs endured? Nothing has alarmed them; neither the decrees of magistrates, nor the fury of tyrants, nor the rage of executioners, nor the dolefulness of prisons; neither racks, nor wheels, nor fire, nor sword. Now, whence did these glorious soldiers of Jesus Christ derive this immovable constancy, but from that religion which was so deeply imprinted in their hearts?

Thus speaks this celebrated orator; and his observations will appear to be the more remarkable when we consider to what community he belonged; a community not exposed to the suffering of persecution, but oftentimes notoriously guilty of assuming a tyrannical and persecuting power over others. But a testimony for the truth may, on some occasions, be borne by those, who, in their own conduct, do not always act under its influence.

The triumphant language of the apostle *Paul*, on  
the

the same subject, is still more to be admired, as he actually felt all the smart which the scourge of persecution could inflict. “ Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress, or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or peril? or sword? As it is written, For thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.”

3. Let us be unfeignedly thankful to God for our present liberties and privileges. We live, comparatively speaking, in happy times. Surely, the lines are fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage. Let us express our gratitude to God, and to our rulers, by steady and constant endeavours to lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Let us exercise ourselves, as our persecuted ancestors did, so as to have always a conscience void of offence, towards God and towards men; submitting ourselves, with their cheerful resignation, to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, wherever manifest duty to God shall not otherwise determine. May we be cautious, as they were, to give none offence, neither to the Jew, nor to the Gentile, nor to the church of God; but may we do our utmost, so far

as integrity will admit, to please all men in all things, however they may be distinguished from us, or from one another; not seeking our own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved. Let us keep in remembrance the lovely example which our forefathers have set us, and by the purity and spirituality of our temper and walk, as well as by manifestation of the truth, commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

4. I am afraid we have too much reason to lament, to mourn, and to humble ourselves before God, on account of the decay of christian piety among ourselves. I fear some among us have departed from those distinguishing truths of the everlasting gospel, under the animating and sanctifying influence of which, our forefathers were induced to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world. Is there not too much reason to conclude, that love to God, to one another, and to holiness in general, is waxen cold? Is there not a manifest declension in point of christian practice? Alas! I fear that much of the glory which distinguished our forefathers, is departed from us. We come very far short of them in respect to their diligence and fervour of mind, in the duties of private devotion,

their

their conscientious observance of the Lord's day, their care to maintain the worship of God in their families, their assiduous endeavours to teach their children and servants the way of the Lord, and their solicitude to set before them an example worthy of their imitation. They were certainly very eminent for their pious concern for the souls of those who were immediately under their care and inspection, as well as for their zeal for powerful and practical godliness in general. Are not we greatly wanting in many of these respects?

The address of our Lord Jesus Christ to the *Sardian* church, demands our particular attention at the present day. "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead. Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God." It is true, these censures do not fall upon dissenters indiscriminately. Through the riches of divine mercy, there are multitudes who are striving together for the faith of the gospel, and who are influenced by its sacred truths, to a walk and conversation answerable, in some degree, to their holy profession. The great object of this publication is the revival of ancient piety, and primitive purity among us,

that

that the present race of dissenters may not be so unlike their venerable forefathers.\*

\* After the reformation had taken place, and, in some degree, prevailed in *England*, many who adhered to the sacred scriptures as the rule of faith and practice, earnestly desired to carry forward this glorious work, so happily begun, to greater perfection. They used proper and prudent endeavours for that end; but, finding such endeavours ineffectual, these pious and conscientious men thought it necessary, for the peace of their own minds, to withdraw from the national church, and to form themselves into little societies, according, as they apprehended, to the directions and examples contained in the New Testament.

The first dissenting church was founded at *Wandsworth*, near *London*, in the year 1572, about two hundred and twenty-six years ago. Many afterwards, in different parts of the kingdom, followed their example. And, notwithstanding the difficulties our forefathers often laboured under, the dissenting interest has been gradually increasing, so that it is now pretty considerable. It has pleased the Almighty to revive his work greatly within these sixty years, both in the established church, and among dissenters of various denominations. Gifts and grace have been bestowed, ministers have been called forth to labour in the word and doctrine, and many have been turned from darkness to marvellous light, and from the power of Satan unto God.—May the all-conquering Redeemer gird his sword upon his thigh, with his glory and his majesty. May he ride prosperously, because of truth and righteousness and meekness, making his arrows sharp in the hearts of his enemies, till the nations be subdued by his victorious arm, and the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God, and of his Christ !

If we profess to be the children and followers of those who, in a former age, were called *Puritans*, because of their endeavours after more purity of life than others, why do we not, with more zeal and solicitude, avoid every degree of impurity and defilement? Why do we not use our utmost efforts to cleanse ourselves from every pollution of flesh and spirit, in a manner and measure answerable to what we profess? We venture to be singular in our modes of worship, why then do we not dare to be singular in our walk and conduct? We attend to the forms of religion in a singular manner with courage, and why do we not dare to practise all virtue and godliness with holy courage too, in the face of such as are ashamed of inward and real religion, and almost ashamed of its very form or outward appearance?

The celebrated Dr. *Watts* says, ‘I will not maintain, that our fathers were in the right in every punctilio of those severities and restraints which they laid upon themselves and their families. Some of them did not so well understand that great article of christian liberty by which they professed to be governed. Some of them, in order to obey that advice of the apostle, “Abstain from all appearance of evil,” were sometimes inclined to restrain themselves and their domestics, from those things

things which had no just appearance of evil or of blame in them. But I dare and will pronounce, that, in their strictness in general, they had the word of God, and the reason of things on their side.' Bishop Burnet does not scruple to acknowledge, that our fathers *had a good character for strictness in religion, which gained them much credit*, though he suspects that their descendants have, in a great measure, lost it. Shall we, by our sinful negligence, support and confirm this suspicion?

The good bishop above-named says, in another place, 'In the days of our fathers, when a person came early to the door of his neighbour, and desired to speak with the master of the house, it was as common a thing for the servant to tell him with freedom, *My master is at prayers*, as it is now to say, *My master is not up.*'—A rebuke is here given to several vices at once. The indulgence of sleep to unseasonable hours; the neglect of family devotion; and being ashamed of the domestic duties of religion and godliness.

5. It is greatly to be desired, that the differences between conformists and nonconformists may not be magnified, by persons on either side the question, or represented to be greater than they really are. Though, if sincerely united either with the members of the church of England, or with those who dis-

dissent from it, I must, in some respects, think myself in the right, and others in the wrong who are differently minded, yet I ought to consider, that the matter in question is not essential to the salvation of the soul. Nay, I ought to consider, that being a churchman or a dissenter, a conformist or a non-conformist, is no way inconsistent, in itself, with the power, the life, or the consolations of religion. Our being on the one side or the other will not bar us from the enjoyment of the presence, the favour, or the friendship of God, the Father of us all, or of Jesus Christ, our common Saviour and Redeemer.

There are men of as great comprehension of mind, men whose piety is as sincere, whose love to God is as fervent, whose benevolence is as extensive, and whose lives are as humble and holy, on the one side as on the other. I beg leave to say, that I have not met with any who have appeared to live in more entire communion with God, in higher admiration of him, in a sweeter sense of his love, or in a more joyful expectation of eternal felicity in heaven, than some who were members of the church of *England*. I hope our honoured brethren of the establishment may be disposed to make the same concession, with respect to individuals among the dissenters. What shall we say

then to these things? That the matter of difference is entirely unimportant? No; but that too much stress ought not to be laid upon it; and that, to use the words of inspiration, "he that eateth should not judge him that eateth not; for God hath received him."

The apostle *Paul*, in his fourteenth chapter to the *Romans*, gives the most excellent counsels for the regulation of our spirits, and the government of our conduct, with respect to matters of indifference in religion. The rules he gives are general, and of standing use to the church, for the preservation of that christian love which is the fulfilling of the law, and the very bond of perfectness. The study of this chapter cannot be too strongly recommended to those who are apt to cherish a spirit of bigotry and party zeal. There seems to be a gracious providence in suffering the sentiments of good men to be somewhat diversified. Our little differences in judgment and practice give occasion for the exercise of mutual forbearance, candor and charity.

The amiable Dr. *Doddridge*, in his improvement on part of the chapter just referred to, has the following remarkable words:

"Let all the different sects and parties of christians study to imbibe more of the equitable and lovely

lovely temper, which the apostle here expresses in so genuine a manner. The divisions of the church are not to be healed by imposing our own sentiments, phrases and forms, and censuring and harassing those who will not acquiesce in them. Such a temper will only engender strife, and mutual provocations will produce mutual increasing resentment.

*'Let us receive our weaker brethren with tenderness and respect; not despising those who scruple what we practise, nor judging those who practise what we scruple. God may receive the one and the other: yea, the different practices of both may proceed from the same general principles, a desire to please him, and to approve ourselves in his sight.'*

*'In this we may all unite, viz. in a concern that we may not live nor die to ourselves, but to the Lord. His dying love, his living care, may surely challenge this. Worthy is he who died, and rose again, and revived, to be adored and obeyed, as the Lord both of the dead and of the living. And such, in one view or another, he will finally appear. We shall know it in that day when we shall be called before his judgment-seat. Conscious of so many crimes, and even in our best days, of so many imperfections, how shall we dare'*

to appear before him ; especially if we should then receive judgment without mercy ! Let us not tempt it, to our own everlasting confusion, by shewing no mercy.

' Let us not add, to all the offences which may justly cause us to tremble before his tribunal, the criminal arrogance of usurping the place and prerogative of our Judge. Let us remember our relation to him, and to each other, and act in a manner becoming it. Let us diligently *judge ourselves*, as those who must be *judged of the Lord*; so thinking of that grand account, as with an increasing solicitude, to prepare for it. *The Lord grant that we may find mercy of the Lord in that day !* The Lord grant that it may also be imparted to many of our brethren, who have differed most from us; yea, and through the indulgence of our compassionate Saviour, to many who have been prone to censure and condemn us for those things which he knows we have done from a desire to please him, or refused to do from a fear of offending him !'

To this I will beg leave to add a passage from Mr. Hervey's justly admired work, which he entitles, *Reflections on a Flower Garden*:

' Between christians, whose judgments disagree only about a form of prayer, or manner of worship, I apprehend there is no more *essential* difference, than between flowers which bloom from

the same kind of feed, but happen to be somewhat diversified in the mixture of their colours. There are modes in religion, which admit of variation, without prejudice to sound faith, or real holiness. Just as the drapery on these pictures of the spring may be formed after a variety of patterns, without blemishing their beauty, or altering their nature.

' Be it so then, that in some points of less consequence several of our brethren dissent; yet let us all live amicably and sociably together. Let us join in conversation, and intermingle interests; discover no estrangement of behaviour, and cherish no alienation of affection. If any strife subsist, let it be to follow our divine Master most closely, in humility of heart, and unblameableness of life. Let it be to serve one another most readily, in all the kind offices of a cordial friendship. Thus shall we be *united*, though *distinguished*; united in the same grand fundamentals, though distinguished by some circumstantial; united in one important bond of brotherly love, though distinguished by some peculiarities of sentiment.'

Finally, let us look forward to that happy day, so frequently spoken of in the scriptures of truth, when the contracted and unchristian-like spirit of bigotry and party zeal shall give way, before the brighter and clearer manifestations of the Redeemer's

glory. The signs of the times seem to give strong indications of the approach of that blessed season, when thy heart, O church of the first-born, shall fear and be enlarged, because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, and the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee! They shall no more hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of *Israel*, and gather together the dispersed of *Judah*, from the four corners of the earth. The envy of *Ephraim* shall then depart, and the adversaries of *Judah* shall be no more. *Ephraim* shall now no longer envy *Judah*, and *Judah* shall not vex *Ephraim*. Swords shall be beaten into plow-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks. Ministers and private christians shall see eye to eye, and there shall be one Lord, and his name one. Men shall be blessed in him without distinction; all nations shall call him blessed. For all nations which he hath made shall come and worship before him, and shall glorify his name. They shall no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know him, from the least of them to the greatest of them; for he will

will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more. The purposes, the predictions, the promises, and even the oath of him who cannot lie, conspire to give us an assured expectation of these happy days; for he hath said, "As truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord."

I shall now put a period to this narrative, earnestly praying that a divine blessing may attend it, to the spiritual benefit of every reader. I have endeavoured, through the whole of it, to maintain a strict adherence to historical truth; but if, through the distance of time, or the want of fuller and clearer information, I have inadvertently run into any mistakes, as to dates, or the transactions here recorded, I shall esteem it a favour if any of the surviving relatives of Mr. Heywood, or any other person to whom his memory is precious, will be pleased candidly to remind me of them, that, as far as possible, these mistakes may be rectified.

In page 39, &c. mention is made of Mr. Heywood's flight to avoid his pursuers, of his being hospitably entertained at a farm-house, and of his preaching there to a few friends the same evening; Mr. J. Hudson of Clayton has been so kind as to

in-

inform me, that, fifty years ago, he conversed with an aged woman of the name of *Ann Shute*, who was present on the occasion. She was then a child, but she had, when Mr. *Hudson* saw her, a perfect recollection of the circumstances recorded in that part of the story.

The farm-house was then called *Moneybents*, and perhaps it may be known by this name at present. It is three miles beyond *Gisburn*, in *Craven*. This interview providentially introduced Mr. *Heywood* to a new circle of acquaintances, whom he afterwards frequently visited, as appears from his diary, and among whom he preached the glad tidings of the kingdom of God, with great acceptance and success. 20 MA 59



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